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ABSTRACT

A description is presented of the teacher training component of the Assessment of Language Proficiency of Bilingual Persons (ALPBP) project that was implemented over a period of 2 years in Tucson (Arizona) and Berkeley (California). The goal of the Tucson section was to provide a forum wherein teachers and administrators could explore the application of ethnographic/sociolinguistic theories and methodologies to language proficiency assessment practices. The Berkeley program consisted of a summer course whose goals were to introduce teachers to theoretical issues involved in educating language minority students. This report is presented in three parts as follows: (1) "A Course on Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment," by S. Philips; (2) "Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Issues and the Assessment of Bilingual Students' Language Proficiency," by C. Rivera and C. Simich; and (3) "Berkeley Summer Program for Teachers. A Course on Language Proficiency and Minority Students," by J. Cummins and L. W. Fillmore. (AMH)

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ALPBP Teacher Training Component

A Sociolinguistic/Ethnographic Approach to Language Proficiency Assessment: Tucson and Berkeley Program Descriptions and Evaluations

Final Report - January 29, 1982

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The ALPBP Teacher Training Component

The teacher training component of the ALPBP project was implemented over a period of two years in two different locations: Tucson, Arizona and Berkeley, California.

In Tucson, Arizona, the teacher training component was implemented in cooperation with Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) and the University of Arizona. Tucson was selected because of the district's interest in providing teachers, resource personnel and administrators with basic training in alternative modes of assessing language proficiency.

TUSD adminstrators felt that the ALPBP teacher training program in ethnographic/sociolinguistic methodologies would complement their efforts in developing a nontraditional language proficiency assessment instrument, the Language Proficiency Measure (LPM) (TUSD, 1981).

The general goal of the training component of the ALPBP project was to provide a forum wherein teachers and administrators would explore the application of ethnographic/sociolinguistic theories and methodologies applied to language proficiency assessment practices. In order to accomplish this goal, bilingual and monolingual educators were provided with a background in linguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking, measurement, and research methodology. The expected outcome of the training was that it would enable Tucson educators to develop more effective language proficiency assessment strategies applicable to their particular student population.

The teacher training program at Berkeley, California consisted of a summer course offered through the University of California. It was entitled,

"Speaking of English: Teaching the Language Minority Student." The goals of the course were to introduce participating teachers to theoretical issues involved in educating language minority students.

The process of implementation, outcomes, and evaluation for each of the training programs are in the ALPBP Teaching Training Report components:

A Course on Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment

Susan Philips
Department of Anthropology
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Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Issues and the Assessment of Bilingual Students' Language Proficiency

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A COURSE ON BILINGUAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENT

Report to N.I.E. and Interamerica

by

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A COURSE ON BILINGUAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENT

OVERVIEW

Part I: Approaches to Bilingual Language Proficiency

The purpose of this report is to describe, explain, and evaluate a course that was taught at the University of Arizona by Dr. Susan Philips on Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment, in the Spring of 1980. The course was funded by N.I.E. through a grant to Interamerica intended to stimulate both teaching and research on the topic of language proficiency assessment.

The general purpose of the course was to provide bilingual teachers with information about approaches to language and language use that would be helpful to the teachers in their efforts to assess the "proficiency" of their students in Spanish and English. From the beginning of the instructor's involvement in planning the course, the course was intedned to be "ethnographic" in basic orientation and emphasis, with that ethnographic orientation viewed as innovative in the area of language proficiency assessment. The instructor began the course with the view that present approaches to bilingual language proficiency assessment are inadequate and inappropriate in several key respects that can be remedied in part through the joining of both theoretical/substantive and methodological aspects of ethnographic approaches to language use with the more institutionalized approaches to a language proficiency assessment associated with educational psychology, and to a lesser degree, cognitive psychology.

Because this ethnographic perspective is so crucial to the organization of the course, an effort will be made to explain why and how that perspective

is thought to have potential for improving language proficiency assessment processes.

In the United States, bilingual education programs exist primarily because of our civil rights commitment to equal education. Children whose first language is other than English (and these overwhelmingly Spanish in language background) generally have had lower scores on school achievement tests than monolingual English speakers, and it has been argued that bilingual education would provide bilingual children with equal access to the education system, and eradicate the achievement score disparities between bilingual and monolingual children.

In fact, such eradication of achievement score disparities has not occurred. One response to the absence of change in achievement scores, in spite of bilingual education, has been to criticize the tests that measure achievement, and to argue that the tests are culturally biased, and do not capture what the children know, or that the tests don't even measure very worthwhile skills and perspectives being transmitted through bilingual programs. Within this framework, language proficiency tests have come in for their own share of criticism, and it has been argued that if the tests that measured the children's relative competence (in e.g. Spanish and English) were better, then placement of children in particular educational programs would be more effective, and achievement scores would improve. While this is an oversimplification of a very complex set of issues, it sets the general framework for what I will call an ethnographic critique.

From a <u>substantive</u> point of view, an ethnographic orientation entails the notion that children's school language skills should be viewed within

a broader framework of culturally acquired communicative competence. While cultural differences in children's pre-school and outside of school language socialization experiences have been recognized for some ethnic minority populations in this country, notably Blacks and North American Indians, such cultural differences have been given less attention in the discussion of the educational problems of our bilingual populations. For those groups, the linguistic difference has been so salient that it has received most of the attention. In addition, there is a tendency among at least Hispanic groups to associate culture with food, dance, and other very visible markers of ethnic or national identity, rather than the less displayable features of everyday culture which comprise children's socialization.

An ethnographic, and fundamentally anthropological, view of language proficiency is that the concept should embrace the child's full range of social uses of language and nonverbal signals rather than encompassing only the narrow uses associated with the transmission of the literacy skills of reading and writing. We could then ask what the relationship is between the child's communicative skills in different domains, and consider how knowledge of the child's communicative skills in non-academic activities might shed light on and help interpret or explain his or her patterns of language use in academic activities.

An ethnographic view of language socialization invokes "culture" and cultural differences in language socialization to explain the poor achievement scores of children from ethnic minority backgrounds. School curricula assume and build on a single model of language socialization. Sometimes there is a poor fit between the school developmental model, and the child's pre-school language socialization experiences.

The developmental model is based on white middle class children's pre-school language socialization experiences, but the ethnic minority child's language socialization is culturally different. Minority children come to school knowing different kinds of things. When they encounter school tests, it is as if they are asked to perform "Apples" when they know "Oranges," and no one ever tests for "Oranges."

Stated quite simply, if we are to meet children where they are as they come into schools, and if we are to build on their strengths, then we need a description of the nature of the communicative competence of children from ethnic minority backgrounds, so that this can be done. We also need to know how cultural differences affect children's classroom behavior, so that when a child is having difficulties in school, we can tell that it is because the teacher and the curriculum presuppose cultural knowledge in the child that she or he doesn't have. Perhaps we can even determine what sort of knowledge is involved. In other words, an ethnographic perspective entails the advocation of the concept of culture and an explanatory tool in bilingual language proficiency assessment.

From a <u>methodological</u> point of view, an ethnographic perspective holds that experimental methodologies can never enable us to grasp the nature of children's communicative competence, because such methods by their very nature alter that competence. Instead, observation, participant observation, and interviewing are recommended as the research tools to be used in determining the nature of children's communicative competence, and the place of educational testing approaches to language proficiency assessment is within that broader perspective of communicative competence. It has also been argued that teachers can benefit from being trained to carry out

ethnographic research on their students' communicative competence because it will broaden their perspective on their students' language skills, enable them to identify students' communicative strengths, and to build on those strengths and use them in academic cognitive development.

This, then, was the ethnographic perspective with which the course was begun.

The course itself can be viewed as an interaction between this perspective, and the concern of the instructor to meet the needs of the students in the course. Accordingly, it is appropriate to provide some information about those students and their concerns.

The students for the course were recruited through the Title VII program in the Tucson Unified School District, generally known as District One, and the Sunnyside District, also in Tucson. All but one of the students was involved in District One bilingual education programs in one way or another. Of the fifteen people who came to class the first day with an interest in enrolling in it, 6 were grade school classroom teachers in "full" bilingual programs. Four of these were first grade teachers, one a second grade teacher, and one a fourth grade teacher. It was to this group that the course was most directly addressed. There were also two teachers in pull-out programs for Spanish Reading who worked with Spanish dominant children in the first three grades. There was one high school teacher who worked with freshmen in a Title VII bilingual program, whose students were Mexican American, but who were learning Spanish at a beginning level. Two people in District One were in non-teaching positions associated with bilingual programs (a resource person, who spent most of her time testing children and evaluating tests, and a Title VII evaluator

who was also the liason person between District One, the course instructor, and Interamerica), and three administrators were from grade schools with bilingual programs. None of these last three ended up taking the course. Finally, there was one teacher who worked with LD students on their literary skills in a grade school pull-out program. All but two of the people were functionally bilingual in Spanish and English. This range represents well the kinds of people who came in and out of the course, and the range of kinds of people who finally finished the course.

From the first day of class, it was clear that most of the teachers were in a fairly difficult position in their roles as assessors of bilingual language proficiency. They began the school year in programs in which they had little or no "say" in determining which children were placed in bilingual programs, or which children were defined as Spanish dominant or English dominant. Most of these teachers had to administer tests designed to measure language proficiency at some point during the school year, but they usually did not receive the test scores until after the children had moved on to another grade. And most of the teachers, at some point during each year, made and acted upon decisions that could seriously affect a child's academic progress--decisions that were based on their own assessment of their students' language skills: Should a child be recommended for learning disability testing? Should he be switched from the English dominant to the Spanish dominant reading group? And so on.

Generally, the teachers believed they were in a better position to assess their students' skills than others, since they see them using language far more than anyone else, and are proficient bilinguals themselves,

unlike many administrators. Some of the teachers who came to this course were critical of the formal instruments used to measure proficiency, and skeptical about their validity. Some of the teachers distrust those who test students for learning disabilities on the grounds that none of the formal testing instruments were in Spanish.

At the same time, none of the teachers had had any formal training in how to evaluate and interpret formal tests, so they lacked confidence in their own critical orientation. And they were clearly aware that their own language proficiency assessments lacked credibility with administrative personnel who made the student placement decisions with which the teachers had to live. Several teachers expressed concern over the fact that they are not consulted or that their opinions are given little attention in placements decisions that are supposed to be based on language proficiency assessments.

In general, then, the teachers came into the class with ambivalent feelings about bilingual language proficiency assessment. On the one hand, they felt their knowledge of their students' language proficiency was crucial for the child's academic development. On the other hand, they felt inadequate in their knowledge and anxious over the decisions they were making.

Clearly, then, the primary practical aim of the course became to provide the teachers with information that would facilitate their language proficiency assessment activities.

There were three parts to the course. Part I was an overview of approaches to bilingual language proficiency assessment, with emphasis on sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches. Part II focused on the

nature of the child's communicative competence in the classroom and the teacher's assessment of bilingual language proficiency in that context. Part III dealt with the child's communicative competence in the community, and with the effects of cultural background on that competence. We will now consider each section of the course in more detail.

Part I: Approaches to Bilingual Language Proficiency

The primary purpose of this first five-week section was to introduce various approaches to or definitions of language proficiency that can be of use to teachers in their language proficiency assessment, and to integrate those approaches into a single coherent view. Above all, it was thought to be important to develop the notion of communicative competence as the most integrated approach to language proficiency, and to demonstrate the advantages of such a view over the more strictly linguistic notions of proficiency and the more "literacy achievement" definitions of proficiency that are salient in educational testing today.

Communicative Competence

There are three aspects of the concept of communicative competence that were highlighted in the course: First, attention was given to the point that communicative competence involves the influences of both human biological make-up and culturally acquired knowledge in the determination of the structure of language. Lectures and reading materials developed awareness of the biological role of the brain in processing language, focusing on the lateralization of language, and areas in the brain associated with particular aspects of language structure (e.g. Broca's area). Awareness of the cultural dimension of language structure

was developed through comparisons of English and Spanish phonology, morphology, syntax and semantic structure. Evidence of inter-cultural and inter-linguistic variation in language was also presented through lecture material on the nature of dialectal, stylistic and contextual variation in language use. In this way basic linguistic concepts were reviewed.

Second, attention was given to the point that communicative competence is a combination of linguistic and social knowledge, and the concept (as developed by Dell Hymes) refers to what a person must know to communicate in a socially appropriate fashion. The point was made that intra linguistic diversity in dialect and style is matched by a functional differentiation in code use that could affect the nature of a child's language proficiency in two languages. We discussed Wendy Redlinger's findings in a Tucson study of mothers of bilingual children that reported their accounts of which language they use for various functions/purposes with their children—e.g. the finding that the mothers tend to "scold" in Spanish, but to "praise" in English.

To increase teachers' awareness of the relation between linguistic form and function, transcripts of tape recordings of diverse situations in both Spanish and English were provided as class handouts throughout the first section of the course. Thus, the teachers were given transcriptions in Spanish of a formal interview on television, Radio Fiesta commercials, a Spanish class at the University of Arizona, and a child's re-telling of a narrative told to him in Spanish.

This concern with the social patterning of code use was then expanded to include non-linguistic aspects of communicative competence, particularly

non-verbal signals. Specifically, the students in the class were encouraged to consider the following aspects of communicative competence in face-to-face interaction: 1. The Attention Structure of face-to-face interaction, or the behavior of teacher and students that signals who is paying attention to whom; 2. The Turn Economies of various interaction, or the teacher's and students' use of different formats for determining who will speak when to whom; 3. Discourse Structure, or the way in which different individuals build on the utterances of others; 4. Linguistic Form, or the linguistic properties of the utterances of different individuals in various social settings and from diverse social background, and 5. Cultural Knowledge, or the differences in knowledge that affect our ability to contribute to verbal interaction in a socially appropriate and meaningful manner.

In the lecture material on these five aspects of communicative competence, emphasis was given to the point that people from culturally different backgrounds differ in all of these areas, and that all of these aspects of communicative competence are part of normal human assessments of language proficiency. The teachers were asked to consider the extent to which these various aspects of communicative entered into their own language proficiency assessments.

The third aspect of communicative competence that was given particular emphasis in the first section of the course was the developmental process through which communicative competence was acquired. In this section, the first two features of communicative competence which had been given attention were again raised and developed further. Thus there was

discussion of the ways in which the development of communicative competence involves both biological dimensions (which are the main source of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural similarities in the developmental process) and social or cultural dimensions (which are the main source of diversity in the development of communicative competence). Both the developmental process and its culturally specific naturewere demonstrated through examples of the culturally specific development of competence in the five aspects of competence just reviewed: attention structure, turn economies, discourse structure, linguistic form and cultural knowledge, drawing heavily on the instructor's own research on the Warm Springs reservation. Thus, to illustrate, the discussion of attention structure suggested that while children's ability to pay attention to a single signalling source generally increases over time, Warm Springs Indian children demonstrate a greater capacity to sit still (behavior that is taken as evidence of attention in the classroom) for longer periods at earlier ages than Anglo children, a trait that can be directly related to their home socialization for stillness and calmness.

This notion of culturally specific developmental sequences was contrasted with the educational assumption implicit in curriculum materials and associated instructional booklets that there is only <u>one</u> relevant developmental sequence in terms of which children's language proviciency can be measured.

Some attention was also given to efforts to lay out developmental models of second language acquisition. We discussed the notion that the age at which a second language is acquired will affect the acquisition

process because of the already discussed developmental stages in the brain that affect language acquisition (e.g. research on Genie; the notion that one can't pronounce like a native if one learns a second language after the age of 14).

Attention was also given to the conflict between the currently salient view that the sequence of acquisition of linguistic form is the same in acquiring a language as a first or a second language, due to universal biologically-based constraints and the view that the acquisition of the form of the second language shows interference from the structure of the first language. The focus on second language acquisition of course also entailed consideration of functional differentiation of the two languages in the acquisition process, but not in any detailed manner.

Applications of the Concept of Communicative Competence in Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment

The first section of the course also covered two specific aspects of the application of the concept of "communicative competence" in the practical activities of bilingual language proficiency assessment in schools.

First, it was suggested that educators are interested in variation in students' language proficiency primarily in relation to variation in academic achievement, and more specifically in relation to explaining poor academic achievement.

When a child does poorly in school, there is a need to determine what sort of educational program will improve the child's performance. That need in turn has given rise to various EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORKS for explaining why a given child is doing poorly. The choice among explanatory frameworks

will in turn determine the choice of special program chosen to improve the performance of a given child. Several explanatory frameworks were discussed to illustrate this notion to the teachers: 1. The normal curve: In all skill areas, some people do better than others, and if this variation, inherent in any normal population, is measured performance will be distributed along a normal curve. In this class, this variation was characterized as probably biologically based, although in practice poorly understood. No special programs are called for when poor performance is viewed within this framework. 2. Learning Disabilities: When poor performance is explained in terms of a learning disability, a special program designed to compensate for that disability is thought to be called for. 3. Linguistic differences: If a child is thought to be doing poorly due to the fact that he is bilingual, and more competent in a language other than the one being used for instruction, bilingual education is thought to be called for for that child.

The teachers in the class had already expressed their concern that the wrong explanatory framework is often used in "diagnosing" and "treating" bilingual children who are doing poorly in school, although they did not express their concern in those terms. Particularly, they were concerned that children who are bilingual are labeled as having learning disabilities, when they don't. This notion was expanded through a key point of the course, namely that there is a need for another explanatory framework, namely the notion of CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE. The point here was that cultural differences in communicative competence and in the developmental sequences in the acquisition of communicative

competence can cause children to be unable to comprehend what they are being taught in the classroom. Such a causal framework should be one of the options considered in attempting to explain and do something about difficulties children are having in school.

This notion also entailed a criticism of educational testing, namely that formal measures of bilingual language proficiency, or testing instruments, do not allow for or recognize cultural and stiuational differences in language use, but rather capture only limited aspects of communicative competence within a single cultural framework.

This point was pursued in the context of general discussion of the role of educational testing in language proficiency assessment, which dealt with both the methodological and substantive aspects of testing. First the instructor lectured on the differences and relative advantages of the psychological experimental methodology of educational testing and the anthropological ethnographic methodology associated with the concept of communicative competence: the experimental methodology controls data collection through presentation of the same stimuli in the same environment to all subjects by structuring the situation for the subjects. Ethnographic methodology involves collection of data through observation of naturally occurring activities. The experimental methodology has the advantage that much comparable data can be quickly gathered, and the disadvantage that it is difficult to determine what the relationship of the testing situation is to naturally occurring uses of language. The ethnographic methodology has the advantage that naturally occurring uses of language and relative skills on those uses are assessed, but the

disadvantages of that large amount of directly comparable material on different individuals cannot be obtained quickly.

Through discussion of language proficiency assessment instruments that are used in the Tucson schools, which were available for examination, teachers were shown how they could readily determine what aspects of communicative competence were being measured by different tests. Two points were given particular attention: First, any given test usually focuses on some limited aspect of control of linguistic form, and treats it as if that aspect (e.g. vocabulary, syntax) could stand for the whole of language. Which aspects are focused on can be readily identified. Second, it is important to determine whether verbal skills or a combination of verbal and literacy skills is being tested. Tests that require the child to examine printed materials for any purpose merge literacy skills with verbal skills, and may confound the two.

The general practical purpose of this discussion was to convey to the teachers that they must know what the tests test and how they test, so that they can supplement test results with their own gathering of information on skills that are not tested by the tests, yet are relevant to school achievement. This final point brought us to the second section of the course, which focused on teachers' language proficiency assessment activities in the classroom.

Part II: Communicative Competence in the Classroom

The general goal of the second part of the course was to teach the teachers to carry out ethnographic observation in their classrooms, and to use that skill in increasing their awareness of the nature of their students' communicative competence in the classroom.

The means used to accomplish this goal was a research project in which the teachers were to describe their own bilingual language proficiency assessment activities, or to do an ethnographic description of their own evaluation activities and the interpretive procedures they use in assessing students' proficiency. There were no assigned readings for this section of the course, and the in-class lecture and discussion activities were organized entirely around the facilitation of this project.

In the first phase of the project, the teachers were required to provide an initial description of their language assessment procedures. Each student in the class was asked to rank a group of 10 of their students in terms of their relative language proficiency in both Spanish and English. Thus, there would be two separate rankings, which could involve either the same or different children. They were asked to describe the aspects of the children's communicative competence that they attended to in making their language proficiency assessments, and the contexts within the classroom which they relied upon in making those assessments. The instructor made it clear that those in the class who were not regular classroom teachers would be able to adapt the assignment to their interests and practical circumstances.

The second phase of the project was the collection of language use data in the classroom. The teachers were asked to tape record the students

they had ranked in the language use activities in both Spanish and English that the teachers use as a basis for their language proficiency assessments. They were then to transcribe 10 minutes of the Spanish activity and 10 minutes of the English activity.

The third phase of the research project was the analysis of the data base in terms of the extent to which the behavioral evidence of the children's language use actually corresponded with the teacher's initial bilingual language proficiency assessment. Specifically, the teachers were to determine whether the students who had been ranked as more proficient in a given language actually displayed greater amounts in the transcripts of whatever qualities the teachers had indicated they evaluated positively. Thus, for example, if a teacher initially indicated that she used size of vocabulary of words with three or more syllables as a criterion in evaluating language proficiency, then she was to determine whether the students she had ranked as more proficient actually exhibited more three or more syllable words in their speech than those she viewed as less proficient.

Where the students' behavior conflicted with the teachers initial evaluations, they were asked to indicate why they thought this had occurred. Finally, they were asked to compare their own assessments of the students' language proficiency with available scores from formal tests of language proficiency, and discuss reasons for any discrepancies between their own evaluations and those of the tests.

There were several reasons for developing this particular project as a means for teaching teachers how to do ethnography. First of all, other approaches to classroom communicative competence did not seem compellingly promising. The approach most consistent with the instructor's own

research and writing, and one quite consistent with the first part of the course, would have been to encourage the teachers' identification of cultural patterns in classroom language use that are specific to the Mexican American community, and that could be affecting either children's performance on formal tests of language proficiency, or their general achievement patterns.

However, identification of such patterns would have been difficult without concomitant attention to such patterns in Mexican American community contexts where they are likely to be more readily in evidence. So it was thought best to reserve this approach for the final section of the course. Had the instructor's research background been in Mexican American language use, rather than North American Indian language use, this is the approach that would have been taken.

A second possible approach would have been to focus on contextual variation in children's use of language in the classroom and on individual students' variation in language use skills depending on the situation. The purpose here would have been to make teachers aware that one cannot determine the overall nature of a child's language proficiency from any single context anymore than one can on the basis of a language proficiency test. However, to take this approach would have been to assume that the teachers were in fact unaware of the children's variable behavior, and it was not clear that they were thus unaware. In point of fact, it was not known how teachers in bilingual programs go about evaluating their students' language proficiency.

Ultimately, however, the primary reason for focusing on the description and evaluation of the teachers' language proficiency assessment processes

was practical. The purpose of the course was to provide the teachers with knowledge and skills that would be useful to them in carrying out language proficiency assessment activities. That purpose presupposes that bilingual teachers have and should have an important role in language proficiency assessment. Yet in practice, the teacher's role is ambiguous, as was indicated in the Overview of the course. Teachers obviously have far more opportunity to assess children's language skills than other school personnel, and they act on those assessments in their roles as teachers continuously. Yet many of them feel that the major academic decisions based on language proficiency assessments, such as who will be placed in what program, are out of their hands. And it is clear that teachers often lack credibility with administrators in such decisions, so that, for example, the results of a test can be given priority over a teacher's evaluation of a child's language skills. Why they lack credibility is not clear. This state of affairs exists in a vacuum of knowledge about what teachers actually do when they assess their students' bilingual language proficiency.

A description of the way in which teachers decide who speaks English and Spanish well or poorly should be useful for a number of purposes. For the teachers, it should help them become able to articulate to others just how they make their decisions, help them substantiate their decisions in dealing with administrative personnel who doubt their abilities in this area. It should also enable them to more easily engage in self-evaluation of their own assessment procedures, particularly when their descriptions can be compared with those of other teachers so that they

can learn from one another. Such description also enables them to compare their approaches with that offered by outside resource people, in this case the instructor of the course.

For educational administrative personnel interested in improving bilingual language proficiency assessment procedures, such descriptive information should be useful in developing a more systematic approach to the incorporation of teacher assessment processes in the overall assessment of bilingual language proficiency. If administrative personnel agree that tests are always limited and quite specific in what they assess, and that additional sources of information should be used in making decisions that will affect students' academic experience, then the teachers' assessments are a natural, logical, efficient and useful source of information. But the teachers' assessment procedures cannot be used systematically if no one knows what they are.

For all these reasons the teachers' research project was developed. As was indicated earlier, in-class activities for Part II of the course entailed presentation of material that would be useful to the teachers in carrying out their projects. One such activity was the presentation and discussion of properties of language use that the teachers might wish to focus on as a fundamental part of their assessment process. They were given a handout that encouraged them to consider which, if any, of the five aspects of communicative competence discussed earlier (attention structure, turn economy, etc.) entered into their assessment.

In addition, they had been given transcripts of classroom interaction from both Anglo and Indian classrooms along with the paper by S. Philips, "Getting the Floor in the Classroom." Discussion of the transcripts and

the paper focused on the fact that teachers obviously ratify utterances of some students more than others. An effort was made to characterize the aspects of language use that were being thus explicitly evaluated. The aspects of language use being evaluated included: 1. The factual correctness of the child's utterance (e.g. cats don't bark); 2. The linguistic appropriateness of the child's response in terms of word class categories (e.g. Q: What did the bird do?" A: "Pretty" - is rejected because it isn't a verb. 3. The topical relevance of the child's utterance; 4. Whether the child was talking out of turn; and 5. Whether the child's use of anaphora was appropriate - i.e. could the referent be identified? The list was not meant to be comprehensive (because it was based on a small set of transcripts), but rather suggestive, and the teachers were again encouraged to consider whether they rely on any of these aspects of language use in their assessments.

Through lecture presentation, the teachers were acquainted with Basil Bernstein's characterization of elaborated and restricted codes. The teachers were encouraged to consider whether they negatively evaluate such features of "restricted code" as shorter utterances, coordinate but not subordinate clauses and heavy use of anaphonic pronouns. Bernstein's account of the relationship between code use and social organizational features of language socialization in working class versus middle class homes was also explained, to stimulate the teachers' thinking about issues that would be focused on in Part III of the course.

Finally, the Bilingual Syntax Measure was reviewed.

The first paper the teachers turned in described their student rankings of Spanish and English proficiency, the criteria underlying those rankings, and the language use situations observed by the teacher on which those

rankings were based. Then during the week that the teachers were tape recording their classes, the instructor went over their first papers to pull together a report to give back to the teachers which compared their approaches so that they could learn from one another. The salient features of the teachers' descriptions (most of which were reported in class) included the following:

1. Many of the criteria for language proficiency that the teachers said they use were very academic in orientation. Quickness of students' responses, reading comprehension, ability to grasp new concept readily, and ability to do tasks independently are examples of such criteria. For the teachers, then, language proficiency is merged with academic achievement to some degree. This is not surprising. In practice probably all of our language proficiency assessments are situational/domain-specific. Since teachers' main professional function is the evaluation of academic progress, it is appropriate that those aspects of language use which reflect academic achievement would be the salient in their conscious discriminations.

2. Most of the teachers identified features of linguistic structure among the dimensions of language use relied on in making language proficiency assessments. Syntax and vocabulary were most often mentioned as aspects attended to, but examples were too infrequent for it to be clear what was intended, but included the notions that the larger the vocabulary, the greater the use of synonyms, and the less recourse to the other language, the more proficiency. Proper word order, particularly having the adjective before the noun in English and after the noun in Spanish, was one syntactic criterion teachers

mentioned in class. Correct use of verb tenses and syntactic complexity were also mentioned. No teacher mentioned pronunciation as a factor in these papers. Greater fluency was also taken as evidence of greater proficiency in both Spanish and English.

3. There were several often-mentioned aspects of language use that were specific to the assessment of bilingual as opposed to monolingual language proficiency. Code-switching or mixing of language was mentioned repeatedly as evidence of less language proficiency. While the teachers recognized the social genesis of code-switching and did not view it as stigmatized, all of them were committed to programs in which Spanish and English were kept separate, so that for any given lesson, or participant structure, their intent was to use only one language for the entire activity. Thus while their students entered their bilingual programs with much mixing of languages, the teachers made it clear that the students were to try to stay in the one language in which the teacher initiated the learning activity. Given this approach, switches into the "other" language were interpreted by the teacher as evidence of lesser control of the language of the lesson.

The teachers also repeatedly mentioned "the language of the home" as a dimension of their assessment process. In other words, if the teacher knew that Spanish was spoken in the student's home, she was likely to attribute more proficiency in Spanish to him or her. This aspect of language use was set aside until Part III of the course.

4. Most of the teachers indicated that they rely almost exclusively on organized lesson activities in which they controlled the interaction

as the contextual basis for their language proficiency assessments. All of the grade school teachers relied particularly heavily on reading group activity. Only two teachers gave systematic attention to contextual variation in children's language proficiency, but in their discussions and more informally in other reports, there was discussion of contextual variation in amount of student talk, presaging the emergence of "amount of talk" as an important variable in bilingual language proficiency assessment. Two patterns of assessment were evident in this realm. First, some teachers indicated that they were uncertain about the proficiency of their lowest ranked students because the children spoke so little that it was difficult to evaluate them. Second, some teachers indicated that they had students who spoke very little when the whole class met with the teacher as a group where participation is voluntary, but were proficiently responsive in small groups where everyone is expected to take a turn. Because of this second pattern, the teachers were unwilling to associate lack of talk with lack of proficiency and felt this second group may get unrepresentative scores on oral language proficiency tests.

5. On the basis of the teachers' descriptions and the instructor's observations in six of the teachers' bilingual classrooms, it became evident that there is rarely if ever complete functional equivalence between Spanish and English in such classrooms. The two languages are always to some degree used for different purposes.

The most common pattern in the early grades was this: The school day began with the whole class meeting with the teacher, and the activities of this time (Pledge of Allegiance, calendar review, roll call, announcements) were alternately in Spanish and English, with alternate days or

weeks for each. The reading groups were either always in Spanish or always in English, with brief stilted forays into the other language through TESL or SESL that most of the teachers viewed as ineffective. This should cause us to question whether the transfer of reading skills from Spanish to English can be matched by a transfer of the verbal language use skills associated with reading groups. Math was the academic activity most likely to involve preview/review alternation in both languages, but here too some teachers reported staying in one language. All of the teachers seemed to have a better sense of the students' competence in one language, usually Spanish, than in the other, and they made this clear in their descriptions.

By the time this first paper came in, it was apparent that the people taking the course were overwhelmed with the research project as a whole. The two main concerns were first that they were being asked to do tasks that they lacked the skill and knowledge to do, and second that the project required too much time and energy, was too much work. Because of this, the instructor developed a final format for the analysis of the taped transcripts that was more structured and limited in form than had been originally intended. First, rather than requiring the teachers to operationalize their own criteria (e.g. decide what constituted evidence in the transcript of good oral reading or verbal fluency or complex syntax), the instructor selected and operationalized most of the criteria to be examined, using the following format:

1. First the teachers were asked to look at two features in both English and Spanish from the Bilingual Syntax Measure. For each language one feature that is thought to be acquired relatively early was used

(presence of articles, e.g. la, el; the, a) and one feature acquired relatively late (direct and indirect object pronouns in Spanish, and the Past irrecular tense for verbs in English). These particular features were also chosen because it was expected that they would occur relatively frequently. The teachers were asked to give the number of "correct" uses of these features in relation to the number of instances where they should have occurred.

There were several general reasons for drawing features from the Bilingual Syntax Measure. First, that test is based on syntactic features, and a number of the teachers had said they attend to syntax in making language proficiency assessments. Second, it seemed that use of the test features would facilitate comparison of test features with teacher-identified features. Use of such features would also facilitate discussion of their occurrence in a test situation compared with their occurrence in ordinary classroom interaction. Finally, because the teachers had expressed so much uncertainty over the assignment and viewed it as too difficult, it seemed important to give them some features that would be easy to identify and easy to count in their transcriptions.

2. A third feature the teachers were asked to examine in both Spanish and English was the frequency of code-switching. This feature of students' language use was identified by the teachers as one they rely on in language proficiency assessments, and because this aspect of language use is distinctive to bilingual language proficiency assessments, it seemed an appropriate variable to examine for this course.

3. For a fourth variable, the class as a group was given a choice from among four possible features that they had identified as relevant in

their first papers, and that the instructor had judged to be readily defineable. From among these, the class members identified fluency of speech as the feature they felt was most promising. As a group, they agreed to focus on "false starts" as the aspect of fluency to be examined in their transcripts, and as a group they developed a more precise definition of false starts.

4. For a fifth feature in each language, the teachers were to select one of their own that they felt was particularly promising and that could be defined in such a way that others could recognize it and count it.

There were several reasons for the emphasis on operationalization of features of students' language use and quantification of behavioral differences among the students. First, as noted earlier in this report, one purpose of this second part of the course was to compare teacher language proficiency assessment with the assessment format of tests. If quantified, the teacher's foci of evaluation and relative ranking of students could be more directly compared with those of the tests. Second, it seemed important to determine whether the teachers could explain to others what they do in a way that would enable others to look at the same aspects of language use that the teachers look at, and thus evaluate and systematically incorporate teacher assessment procedures into routine language assessment in the schools.

During the third part of the course, the teachers were given a summary of their Part II final analyses by the instructor that covered the following points:

1. Most of the people who taped and transcribed their tapes taped reading groups, usually in Spanish. The heavy use of reading groups was

partly motivated by the fact that this is probably the main situation in which verbal language use is assessed by teachers. The second reason for use of this situation is that it can be taped and the tape transcribed more readily than many other classroom activities, and the teachers had been urged to consider such factors in selecting activities to tape.

2. In the first part of the final analysis, the teachers were asked to compare the results of their analysis of their students' language use scores from language proficiency and achievement in the students' records. The teachers found the records to be poor and spotty. Some could find no such information for their first grade level students. The scores available to the different teachers were from different tests, making it clear that there was no standardization in testing in the school district. None of the teachers found an absolute correlation between their own initial rankings of their students and the results of language proficiency tests, although there was a general correlation. Conflicting rankings were usually in the top half of the groups of students in questions, and most commonly involved one child who talked a lot, and was evaluated more highly by the teacher than by the test.

None of the teachers attempted to explain discrepancies between the tests and their own rankings as they had been asked to do.

3. All of those who finished their assignments rejected the features from the Bilingual Syntax measure as useless for their purposes, just as they had been verbally very critical of the test when it was earlier discussed in class. Generally they said the features in both Spanish and English were completely or almost completely controlled by all of their students,

including all of the students at the first grade level. Interestingly enough, they all also found that direct and indirect pronouns occurred too infrequently in their material to be effectively evaluated, suggesting that whatever utterance types normally display pronouns in Spanish are not being generated by reading group discussions. The suggestion of one teacher that English verb tenses in general rather than the Past Irregular be considered as a useful indicator of linguistic control was supported by the others in the class in class discussion.

4. The discussions of the variable of code-switching as an indicator of lesser proficiency were among the most interesting in the teachers' final analyses. None of them ended up concluding that this dimension of language functioned as they had initially expected it to. Some members of the class arrived at the opinion that there was more code-switching among the students they had ranked as most proficient in a given language in question rather than less. Class discussion of this finding indicated that students with good code-switching skills are generally perceived by the teachers as particularly competent or naturally gifted in language skills.

The instructor informed the teachers that her comparison of the different papers and transcripts indicated that there was more code-switching from Spanish into English than from English into Spanish. Transcripts and observations from five different first grade classes indicated that in both languages the amount of code-switching done by the students was roughly proportional to the amount of code-switching done by the teacher. In other words, in classes where the students switched a lot, so did the

teacher. In classes where the students switched not at all, neither did the teacher. It is not clear who is conditioning who in such activity.

5. The teachers also rejected fluency as an indicator of greater control of the language in question. The two first-grade teachers who finished their analyses independently concluded that disfluencies in the form of false starts were associated with longer turns at talk and more complex utterances, which in turn were produced by the students the teachers had judged to be their most proficient. This finding led the members of the class to agree that turn length and utterance complexity might be good features of language to examine in future work of this kind.

6. In general, the teachers were more enthusiastic about the utility of the features of language use that they had chosen on their own than those suggested by the instructor or decided upon by the group. These features included errors in oral reading, number of student responses acknowledged and evaluated positively by the teacher, amount of talk (by number of turns, number of words, and number of syllables), correctness of all verb forms, and number of words with three or more syllables. The teachers who looked at reading and positive teacher evaluations found the strongest correlations with their own rankings, which provides further evidence of the extent to which language proficiency and academic achievement are merged in the teachers' language proficiency assessments.

Those who looked at amount of talk did not find it to correlate with their rankings, primarily because there was usually one exception to the correlation. But the instructor's perusal of reports and transcripts taken as a body suggest that in fact there is a very strong general correlation

between amount of talk and positive or high language proficiency assessment of a student.

7. Concluding remarks: The teachers seemed to feel that their awareness of the ways their students' use language had been heightened by the project activities and that their own intuitions about their students use of language were only bourne out some of the time when their students' language use was examined more closely. The experience did not cause them to question their own rankings. Instead, where students' performance in terms of the teachers own criteria was not what the teachers expected, they tended to criticize the use of those criteria some and the methodology of the research project more. They believed they were working with too little data for the features examined to be confirmed or disconfirmed. The instructor shared this view, but less strongly than they, having had access to all of the papers and all of the data. It was also clear that the features we examined interact with other features we did not examine in complex and subtle ways, a point again recognized by both the instructor and those who took the course.

This suggests that it is generally quite difficult to operationalize the teacher assessment processes, and if teacher judgements are more systematically used in making student program decisions in the future, it will probably be necessary to accept the qualitiative nature of their judgements.

It was also clear that the teachers' basis for making language proficiency assessments is in fact almost always limited to the academic activities which the teacher herself controls. The expansion of that base to other sources of information was the focus of the third part of the course.

Part III: Communicative Competence in the Community

The general purpose of this third part of the course was to facilitate the teachers' exploration of sources of information on their students' communicative competence that they do not normally use as a basis for making bilingual language proficiency assessments. As in the second part of the course, the teachers were given an empirical research project to carry out involving gathering of additional information on the same students they had ranked in the first project. And once again the in-class activities were designed to acquaint the teachers with approaches that would help them in their projects. This time, however, the project was less structured, allowing the teachers to decide how much time to devote to it, and readings were assigned to accompany the in-class lectures and discussion.

Basically the teachers were asked to consider whether access to a broadened view of their students' communicative competence would give them insight into the students' in-class language use and/or alter the nature of the teachers' rankings of their students' bilingual language proficiency.

The third part of the course was designed to broaden their view of their students' communicative competence in two ways: 1. First, they were to consider the nature of contextual variation in children's communicative competence, considering how the children communicated in school contexts the teachers did not normally observe, and in community contexts. In general, then, they were to try to fit or relate the children's performance in academic activities into a larger pattern of communicative skills. They were given examples of research carried out by William Labov in a New

York Black community and by Susan Philips on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation that indicated that the children's ways of communicating were quite different in situations that did not involve a teacher than they were when the teacher organized the interaction. The purpose of these examples was to encourage them to recognize that there might very well be more to their children's communicative skills than they were seeing.

2. The second way in which the third section of the course was to broaden the teachers' views of their children's communicative competence was through consideration of the relationship between the students' social backgrounds and their language proficiency as it had been assessed by the teacher on the basis of academic activities. Here the concern was to further develop the notion, discussed earlier, that cultural differences in socialization for communicative competence can be used to explain some poor achievement (and low language proficiency assessment). The teachers were familiarized with a number of aspects of social background that have been correlated with school performance, and that can be seen as part of a child's culture: ethnicity, social class and, in the case of the Hispanic populations, number of generations removal from immigration to the United States.

While the Part III Assignment encouraged the teachers to consider a number of sources of information, problems with the Anthropology Department Human Subjects Committee made it necessary to ask them not to make visits to students' homes to gather information or gather information from their school files. Thus they came to be limited to observation and tape recording of activities taking place on the school grounds, and information

about the children that they had acquired during their normal teaching activities. Those who had already gathered additional background information from other sources before this restriction was made were allowed to go ahead and use that information in their final papers.

There were three topics covered in class sessions designed to provide information that would facilitate the teachers' data collection and analysis. The first topic was Roger Barker's sociolinguistic study of Tucson. The teachers were assigned his book reporting that study, for several reasons. First, it was thought the study would give them an overview of the patterned relations among codes used, the social domains in which they are used, and the social categorization of persons using them. Second, it was thought that because the study was done in Tucson, it would stimulate the teachers to evaluate the study and use a modified version of Barker's categories in their own analysis of their students language use.

In-class activity centering around the Barker book began with a discussion participated in by all, of their linguistic and social backgrounds, so that in evaluating the book, we would all know the nature of each person's knowledge of the speech community that Barker had studied. To our surprise, only one person in the class (and she was not of Hispanic origins) had grown up in Tucson. By far the most common pattern was for the individual's parents to have immigrated from Mexico to a small mining town in Arizona, and for the teacher not to have come to Tucson until she went to college here. The teachers were thus hesitant to comment on the continuing relevance of Barker's analysis of the social organization of the Mexican

American community, but quite willing to offer alternatives to his linguistic typology of codes used by the community.

Barker divided the codes used in the Mexican American community into Sonoran Spanish, Southern Arizona dialect of Spanish, Pachuco, Standard Mexican Spanish, Nonstandard English, and Standard English. The teachers offered several apparently more "emic" categorizations of Spanish to cover the Spanish range: 1. puro: Northern Mexican and Mexico City standard Spanish; 2. frontera: puro laced with anglicisms; 3. pochi/pocho: similar to fronters, but with the inclusion of archaic Spanish terms and the connotation of small townness and non-standardness; 4. pachuco. The teachers disagreed about the connotations of these words, and did not feel that the typology was complete. They were encouraged to use these categories in discussing their students' language skills in different contexts, but none did.

The second topic developed to facilitate the teachers' projects was that of code-switching. As has already been noted, the teachers were very concerned about how to interpret and deal with code-switching, and it had emerged as an important feature of their language assessment activities. Their research in Part II of the course suggested that the phenomenon was complex, but they still felt it was important in language assessment. They were encouraged to consider the nature of their students' code-switching in diverse contexts and to re-evaluate its significance for bilingual language proficiency assessment.

In class, various aspects of patterning in code-switching were reviewed, including its correlation with: topic, language best known by addressee,

degree of formality of the occasion, and the desire to give symbolic expression to one's cultural identity. Consideration was also given to the different types of linguistic structural units that determine the junctures at which switching actually takes place. The possibility that lesser proficiency in students' language use might be signalled by switching within these linguistic units (i.e. switching that violates rules for appropriate switching) was raised.

The third topic developed to facilitate the teachers' projects was the nature of cultural difference in knowledge and their consequences for patterns of language use. Differences in "knowledge" had already been identified in Part II as an aspect of communicative competence that the teachers might be evaluating, but this notion had not been dealt with in a thorough and systematic manner. To illustrate what was involved, and its implications for classroom interaction, the instructor presented lecture material analyzing a transcript of Warm Springs Indian first graders engaged in a discussion with their teacher, focusing on an article in a Weekly Reader called "Camping Then and Now." The transcript illustrated the difficulty the Anglo teacher had getting the children to talk, and the frequency with which she defined their answers to her questions about their own "camping" experiences as inappropriate in one way or another. The instructor explained that while both Anglos and Indians "camp," the nature of the activities involved, and the meaning of the term camp are different, and embedded in rather different cultural matrices. Thus camp is used by Warm Springs Indians in the way that stay is used by Anglos, and stay is used by Indians as live is used by Anglos. Thus

one can be invited to "camp here" for the night and it can mean staying in the invitor's home. When Indians do camp, in more of the sense meant by Anglos, it usually involves visiting relatives, a pow wow, or engaging in food-getting, such as fishing or berry-picking at traditional Indian sites, and not a stay at camp grounds in a park in a pretty place.

Such differences in the nature and organization of experiences can cause people from different backgrounds to have difficulty understanding one another and building on one another's utterances in a meaningful way. Curriculum materials often presuppose particular types of experiences that only children from some background have had. The teachers were encouraged to consider how the extent to which a child's background being Mexican American in culture, rather than Anglo (whatever that means) might affect his or her communicative competence in various contexts or social settings in which he or she participates. For example, did some children display more language proficiency in non-academic activity because of greater knowledge of or interest in the topics being discussed?

To facilitate consideration of this issue, the instructor assigned readings by Mexican American folklorists that deal with sorts of knowledge (jokes) which only members of the culture can produce and respond to appropriately. She also reviewed characteristics of Mexican American culture that are frequently mentioned in the ethnographic literature, suggested ways in which such characteristics might affect classroom behavior, and asked the teachers to evaluate and respond to these rather stereotyped generalizations. The characteristics reviewed included: 1. Acceptance of and orientation to hierarchical authority; 2. Strong social involvement with extended

family; 3. Patriarchal orientation within family, associated with male household authority, and preference that women stay in the home rather than work; 4. Strong involvement in the Catholic church; 5. Continued involvement with "curandero" complex of beliefs about the supernatural and the treatment of illness; 6. More musical orientation in social activities (singing and dancing).

Because these views are so sterotyped and have been criticized by some Hispanic social scientists, the instructor presented them with some diffidence, and only for lack of other materials, but most of the teachers felt they were accurate characterizations of Mexican American culture. In discussion of these qualities, the teachers gave several examples of ways in which this background affects what their students discuss with enthusiasm and interest. One teacher mentioned, for example, that when she tried to get her first-graders to discuss media events they have seen, she first tries to question them about popular Spanish language movies showing in town, because she knows the children are likely to have seen those. Another teacher mentioned that her children try to talk to her about the activities at the Catholic Church they are involved in, or may make references to Bible stories, but she feels she cannot develop these topics because of the church-state separation pressures in the school. However, none of the teachers addressed such issues in their papers.

Of the five people taking the course who reported on the Part III assignment, three concentrated on observation of their students in contexts where they did not normally see them and two concentrated on the relationship between features of the students' social background and their language

proficiency in Spanish and English. Their general evaluation of this project was that it was very useful to carry out such activities, and one gained insight into the nature of the children's communicative skills that could not be gained through regular classroom activities.

Two of the teachers who observed the students in activities on the school grounds found a general correlation between the students' amount of talk in these situations and in the classroom. More particularly, they found that the students they had ranked as least proficient in at least one language were loners outside the classroom, and weren't talking because they weren't with anyone. One person taking the course found a child who used Spanish little in the classroom, even when addressed in Spanish, but relied on it heavily in interaction with peers in the cafeteria, making plausible the notion that some students see the classroom as a place for English, no matter what kind of program they are in.

The teachers agreed that observation of students in activities not controlled by the teacher should be a regular part of bilingual language proficiency assessment. But they felt that for it to be practical, it would be best to recommend that teachers observe students in unsupervised activity in the classroom. They found the cafeteria to be an excellent situation for observation, but felt some teachers would find it a burden to be required to observe there. They found the playground a very poor place to observe, because of the level of activity of the children.

The teachers who looked at the correlation between language proficiency and social background were surprised by several of their findings. One teacher who teaches Spanish as a second language to Mexican American students at the high school level found that there was a strong correlation

between the students' identification of Spanish as their first language, and her positive assessments of their present Spanish proficiency. In other words, her "good" students were those who had been early exposed to Spanish, and/or had had it and lost it. Another teacher, who taught at the first grade level found that there was a strong correlation between high proficiency in Spanish, and birth in Mexico, and between high proficiency in English, and birth in the United States. While this correlation might seem obvious, it has apparently been disputed among those working in Tucson in bilingual education. This same teacher found a strong correlation between students' birth order position and proficiency. Those who were first-born in their family tended to be ranked as more proficient in both languages by this teacher. The other teachers strongly agreed that this factor is a very promising one for explaining differences in language proficiency. But although the teachers found social background information helped them explain patterns in their students communicative competence, they generally did not feel that teachers should regularly have access to such information, or be encouraged to use it in making placement decisions. They felt such information was too biasing, so that e.g. a child who was from Mexico and fourth-born, would be assumed to have little English proficiency, regardless of his actual performance in the language.

In the last session of the course, where the teachers gave oral presentations of their projects for the third part of the course, the instructor also provided a summary or concluding perspective on the relevance of communicative competence and ethnographic methodology for bilingual language proficiency assessment, which addressed the following concerns:

Increased attention is now being given to bilingual language proficiency assessment because some educators believe that poor assessment procedures are contributing to the continued difficulty our school systems are having in raising the achievement scores of bilingual students. An ethnographic approach to bilingual education stresses the need to develop assessment procedures within a general framework that assumes culture-specific developmental references in the acquisition of communicative competence. It is necessary to empirically determine what those sequences are before teachers and curriculum developers can build on already existing cognitive development in their education of the children. For this reason, bilingual language proficiency assessment in all settings should entail not just evaluation of students' language skills in terms of an already known and established set of criteria, but also RESEARCH, open-ended exploratory research on the nature of the skills the children actually have, and their relation to academic success.

Formal testing is too limited a basis for determining the language in which a child should first acquire particular skills. There are a number of factors that should be considered in making such decisions. The main concern, of course, is that the child be taught in the language in which she or he has the skills to learn, to acquire knowledge, to think creatively. Thus far it has been assumed that this should be the language in which the child is "dominant." But a child may be dominant in one language for some topics and some social domains, but not others. Thus we see immediately that dominance is too simplistic a notion. To determine the child's best language for learning, we should minimally consider the following:

1. In which language does the child have skills most directly related to what schools teach? This may mean the vocabulary of words teachers use in teaching reading. It may mean the ability to answer questions about events in books, and the ability to re-tell stories.
2. In which language does the child show the greatest range? In which language can she handle the greatest diversity of topics and social situations?
3. In which language is the child motivated to learn?
4. In which language do the parents want the child to learn?

At present we do not know which of these factors matters most. But at present only a narrow dimension of the first factor is being used to make decisions about children's placement in programs.

A broader view that encompasses all of these factors would entail a broader assessment of bilingual language proficiency that included the following:

1. Formal testing.
2. Teacher observation of student's language use in academic activities.
3. Teacher observation of student's language use in peer activity, in classroom or cafeteria.
4. Information about language use in the child's home environment--who uses which language in what contexts, in dealing with what topics.

With this information, it should be possible to determine in which language the child has the greatest range, and in which language the child has "school skills." In practice, it is likely that working-class children

will have fewer school skills in either language than middle-class children. It would thus be appropriate that they be taught in the language of greatest range, because this is the language they are most likely to pick up new skills in. For middle-class children, the language of school skills and great range may be the same or different. In any case, the stress on a narrow set of school skills has worked poorly, so there is a great need to try another approach, and emphasis on initial development of the language of greatest range is a very promising avenue at this time. But range can only be established ethnographically, and within a framework of cultural relativism, hence the utility of the concept of communicative competence for bilingual language proficiency assessment.

Instructor's Evaluation and Recommendations

1. In general I felt the contents of the course were appropriate to the level of sophistication and intelligence of the students, in spite of their beliefs that they could not handle the project in Part II. If I were to teach the course again, I would have to change the project regardless of my beliefs, because too many students were too negatively affected by it. Roughly half of the dozen who intended to take the course for credit dropped out during this period. I would probably keep the first part of the project in which the teachers ranked students and identified criteria and situations they use in making bilingual language proficiency assessments. Instead of the rest of the task as it was, I would have them tape and transcribe two situations — one that they normally use for making assessments, and one in which the same students

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are unsupervised or peer-oriented. Then I would ask them to make general comparisons of the students' proficiency in the two situations in terms of code-switching, topic control and other dimensions of communicative competence, and to re-evaluate their rankings.

2. A course that is ethnographically oriented should really only be taught after the teachers have other background in language study. Thus teacher training needs to include in the following order:

a. Undergraduate - all teachers

1) Introduction to Structure of Language

2) Sociolinguistics

b. Graduate - bilingual/ethnic miniority teachers

1) Analysis of Tests and Testing Procedures in Bilingual Education

2) An Ethnographic Approach to Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment

Personnel

The instructor's background in Spanish was limited to three years of poor high school training and one semester of college. Because she was not functionally bilingual, it was crucial to the workability of the course that her two assistants were bilingual in Spanish and English.

1. Teaching Assistant (Olivia Villegas) The TA did library research for the instructor and observed in the classrooms of those taking the course, acting as an intermediary between them and the instructor in the development of their projects. She also functioned as a bicultural ethnographer of of the course activities, offering invaluable insights to the instructor in this capacity.

2. Research Assistant (Adah Leah Wolf) In the first part of the course, the R.A. tape recorded and transcribed interaction in Spanish from a variety of settings to familiarize the class with the range in the form-function relationship in Spanish that could be observed through such data collection. For the second and third parts of the course, she duplicated the data gathering of the teachers' assignments in an additional class so that the instructor could analyze data along with the teachers and gain insight into the issues of concern to them.

Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Issues and the Assessment of Bilingual Students' Language Proficiency

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Introduction

The research reported in this paper was implemented under the Assessment of Language Proficiency of Bilingual Persons (ALPBP) project. The two-year project is funded by the National Institute of Education (NIE) and administered by InterAmerica Research Associates.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the teacher training program implemented over a two year period in cooperation with Tucson Unified School District (TUSD). TUSD was selected as the training site for the ALPBP project because of the district's interest in the development of innovative approaches to the education of language minority students. TUSD serves a community in excess of 500,000. Approximately 57,000 students are enrolled in TUSD schools. Approximately 16,000, or 28.4%, are Hispanic, of which approximately 11,000 have been identified as having a primary language other than English. In addition, the school district also services about 1,000 students from 79 various language backgrounds.

TUSD administrators felt that the ALPBP teacher training program in ethnographic/sociolinguistic methodologies would complement their efforts in developing a nontraditional language proficiency assessment instrument, the Language Proficiency Measure (LPM) (TUSD, 1981). The educators who became involved in the training program were teachers and administrators from the school district. District administrators had an opportunity to input in the content of the program during the planning stage through a variety of phone conversations and on-site meetings. Teachers had an opportunity to contribute to the training plan through a needs assessment survey and formal and informal meetings.

The general goal of the training component of the ALPBP project was to provide a forum wherein teachers and administrators would explore the application of ethnographic/sociolinguistic theories and methodologies applied to language proficiency assessment practices. In order to accomplish this goal, bilingual and monolingual educators were provided with a background in linguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking, measurement, and research methodology. The expected outcome of the training was that it would enable Tucson educators to develop more effective language proficiency assessment strategies applicable to their particular student population.

The process of establishing a relationship with TUSD administrators and teachers took place over approximately a six month period in the fall and winter of 1979. The actual training was implemented in three phases. Phase I consisted of a graduate level course, offered during the spring semester of 1980. Phase II was implemented in the form of a three week intensive workshop in the summer of 1980. During this workshop, the Teacher Observation Instrument (TOS) was developed. Phase III, the last of the ALPBP training component implemented in Tucson, consisted of several stages. The first constituted a preparation stage wherein the ALPBP project staff identified salient issues to be considered for the field testing of the TOS. Following the preparation stage, a workshop was implemented in the spring of 1981 to give teachers more formal training in microethnographic/sociolinguistic field methods. This was undertaken with the specific purpose of enabling TUSD teachers to field test the TOS. The next stage consisted of the development of criteria for analyzing the TOS field test results. The finalization of this process took place in a two-day meeting in the summer of 1981 with a TUSD representative, the ALPBP Project Director, and ALPBP Research Associate.

Philips (1981) provides a detailed description of Phase I. The actual training process and outcomes from Phases II and III are fully described in the body of the paper. The conclusion focuses on evaluative information identifying limitations and significance of the ALPBP teacher training program in Tucson.

Theoretical and Methodological Approach

Traditionally, schools have used a developmental model of acquisition of communicative skills based on white middle-class children's socialization experiences. This model assumes children come to school having the same basic experiences at home and in the community. It also assumes that cognitive and linguistic skill development follows a rather fixed growth curve which takes as the norm white middle-class children's developmental characteristics. These assumptions are reflected in standard monolingual curriculum objectives as well as in the segmentation of knowledge by grade level. The model fails to recognize culturally different language socialization experiences of children from multilingual/multicultural backgrounds. It lacks the necessary flexibility to build upon variability in the acquisition of communicative skills by children of different cultural backgrounds, and to relate these skills to the learning of new concepts at school. This lack of understanding and acceptance of culturally different language socialization patterns of communication may be a major factor contributing to the poor performance in school by language minority students (Note 1).

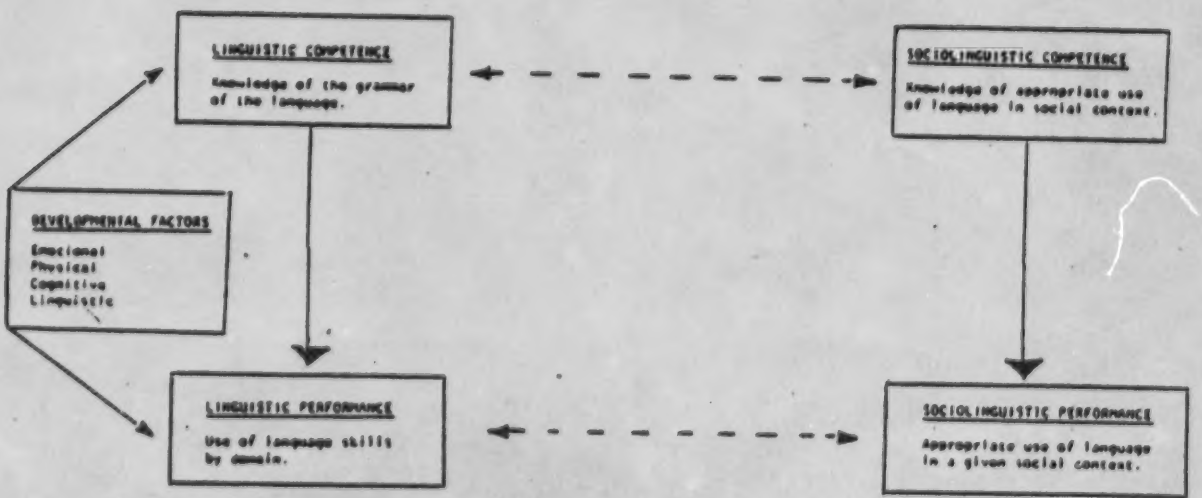
Recognizing the inadequacies of this traditional model, an ethnographic/ sociolinguistic approach to communicative proficiency and its assessment was

adopted for use in the ALPBP teacher training program. The approach entails both theoretical and methodological considerations about the nature of children's language acquisition, language use, and its measurement.

From a theoretical perspective, the concept of language proficiency is seen as embracing "the child's full range of social uses of language and non-verbal signals rather than encompassing uses associated with the transmission of literacy skills of reading and writing" (Philips, p. 3).

In order to operationalize this interpretation of the language construct, Briere's (1979) integrative model of communicative proficiency was modified for use in the training process to include those factors which influence children's language development and language use. The model, illustrated in Figure 1, consists of four basic components: linguistic competence and linguistic performance -- based on Chomsky's (1965) understanding of language -- and sociolinguistic competence and sociolinguistic performance -- based on Hymes (1972) interpretation of communicative competence.

Figure 1. A SOCIOLINGUISTIC/LINGUISTIC MODEL OF COMMUNICATIVE PROFICIENCY
(Adapted from Briere, 1979)



Linguistic competence refers to the intuitive knowledge a native speaker has about the rules of the grammar of his/her language(s) (i.e., phonology, syntax, and the lexicon). This refers, for example, to the tacit knowledge a native English-speaking student has about when and how to use both regular and irregular plurals, to make verb and noun agreements, or to understand the sounds of the dialectal variations spoken in various communities.

Linguistic performance refers to the actual use the speaker makes of his/her linguistic competence using the "proper" grammar and vocabulary. These skills are evidenced in the ability to comprehend and speak as well as to read and write if literacy skills have been introduced.

Sociolinguistic competence refers to the knowledge a native speaker has about the appropriate use of his/her language within different social environments, i.e., the tacit knowledge of what to say to whom, for what reason(s) and under what circumstance(s). In the school setting, it refers to the knowledge a student has of the appropriate rules of interaction and interpretation when interacting with teachers, peers and other participants.

Sociolinguistic performance refers to the actual communicative behaviors of a speaker which lead other members of a speech community to believe that he/she is communicating appropriately. For example, in U.S. schools teachers often expect students to look them in the eye while being reprimanded or when responding. In some cultures this is considered inappropriate; thus, if a student does not provide a response appropriate to the culture, a teacher unfamiliar with the child's cultural background might conclude that the student is disrespectful or uncooperative.

The ethnographic perspective requires the application of methodologies which support observation of naturally occurring interactions, participant observations and interviews as research tools for determining the nature of children's communicative proficiency. This is in contrast to experimental methodologies which focus on language interactions in contrived rather than natural settings. By their very nature, experimental methodologies disregard children's natural language abilities because they focus on knowledge of language skills which may lie outside their socialization experiences.

In an effort to develop observational criteria to be used in analyzing observations of children's naturally occurring communicative interactions and relate these to communicative proficiency, ALPBP project staff reviewed current theoretical and applied research on the nature of language and its functional uses. Following is a brief summary from that review.

Hymes (1964) argues that knowledge of a language implies more than an innate and subconscious knowledge of the rules of the language (Chomsky, 1965). He suggests that language use within a speech community consists of culturally influenced communication modes, which include systematic patterning of speech governed by social rules. He proposes that an ethnography of speaking is required to describe the patterns of language use in terms of their distribution and function. He categorizes language in terms of basic functions: expressive, directive, and referential.

Halliday (1973) categorizes language functions as instrumental, regulatory, interactional, heuristic, personal, imaginative and representational. The instrumental function, according to Halliday, serves to manipulate the environment, to cause certain events to happen, such as "don't touch the stove!"

etc. The regulatory function serves in controlling events through the use of approval, disapproval, etc. The representational function refers to the use of language to make statements, convey facts and knowledge, such as to explain, or to report, etc. The interactional function serves to ensure social maintenance. This is exhibited in knowledge of slang, jargon, jokes, politeness, and formality expectations. The personal function allows a speaker to express feelings and emotions. The heuristic function involves language used to acquire knowledge and to learn about the environment. Heuristic functions are often conveyed in the form of questions that will lead to answers. Children make good use of the heuristic functions in their use of why questions. The imaginative functions serve to creat imaginary systems of ideas, such as telling fairy tales, writing novels, creating poetry, etc.

Tough (1974) considers two basic functions of language: relational and ideational. The first one is used to "maintain the self" and the latter one is used to direct one's self to others' actions.

As a result of ethnographic/sociolinguistic observations of young children's communicative interactions, Wilkinson (1975) developed a list of language functions specifically related to them. Because of their importance in understanding the language use by school children, the functions are listed below.

Functions of Language

Who am I?

1 Establishing and maintaining self
2 Language for analyzing self
3 Language for expressing self
(for celebrating or despairing, etc.)

Who are you?

4 Establishing and maintaining relations
5 Co-operating
6 Empathizing, understanding the other
7 Role playing, mimicry
8 Guiding, directing the other

Who/What is he/she/it?

9 Giving information
10 Recalling events (past)
11 Describing present events
12 Predicting future events -
statements of intention
statements of hypothesis
what might happen
13 Analyzing, classifying
14 Explaining, giving reason for
15 Exploring, asking questions, but in other ways also, by "sounding out" people
16 Reflecting on own/others' thoughts and feelings

(Wilkinson, 1974, pp. 56-57)

In her study of teacher/children's language interactions, Fillmore (1979) suggests several functions of language related to children's production and comprehension. Samples of functions which she recognizes as important during classroom interactions are: to provide and elicit information, to explain, to describe, to clarify, etc.

In addition to research on language functions, psycholinguistic research by Cummins was felt to be important to the study of children's language use in school. Cummins (1980) suggests that there are two independent dimensions of language proficiency: cognitive-academic language skills, which are related to literacy skills, and sociolinguistic language skills, which are related to interpersonal communication skills.

Fillmore's (1976) research on the acquisition of English skills of five early elementary school children indicates that both aspects of language proficiency suggested by Cummins have unique but interrelated characteristics. Both are essential for successful achievement and social interaction in the classroom. Fillmore notes that sociolinguistic aspects of language are crucial to the acquisition and development of a second language in early elementary school children while cognitive-related functions often become

more critical for older second-language learners because of the emphasis on academic performance at higher grade levels. The implication of Fillmore's work is that both sociolinguistic and cognitive-academic language aspects are important to meaningful and appropriate communication of second language learners.

More recent research on language use in the classroom suggests that there are two dichotomous language dimensions. One is more related to the service of cognition -- academic-related language functions -- and the other is related to the service of interpersonal social interactions -- socio-affective related language functions (Genesee, inpress). Successful communication with other participants seems to be correlated to the degree to which the individual has mastered both dimensions of language use.

The insights gained from the review of literature together with our experience as educators of language minority students provided the basis for developing a framework for training teachers in language proficiency assessment issues utilizing ethnographic/sociolinguistic methodologies.

Implementation of the ALPBP Teacher Training Program: Process and Outcomes

Phase I: Bilingual Language Proficiency Assessment: An Ethnographic Approach. Phase I of the ALPBP teacher training program was implemented in the spring of 1980 by Dr. Susan Philips through an agreement with the University of Arizona School of Education Bilingual Program and the College of Liberal Arts Anthropology Department to co-sponsor a three credit (45 hr.) graduate course. The course was developed to meet the needs of participating teachers.

It focused on three aspects of language proficiency as they relate to language minority students:

- o Models of Language Proficiency;
- o Language Proficiency in the Bilingual Classroom; and
- o Language Proficiency in the Bilingual Community.

Through the course teachers were provided with background in approaches to the assessment of language proficiency of language minority students. They were introduced to basic sociolinguistic and ethnographic concepts related to language assessment, and were guided in the exploration of the nature of children's language proficiency in both classroom and community contexts. Sources of information included lectures, readings, and discussions. A more detailed description of this aspect of the training component is found in Philips' paper, "An Ethnographic Approach to Language Proficiency Assessment" (in press).

Phase II: Development of a Student Observation Instrument to Determine the Communicative Proficiency of Language Minority Students. The theoretical and methodological issues introduced by Philips formed the basis for development of Phase II, which took the form of a three-week intensive workshop. The goal of the workshop was to provide the participants with practical ethnographic/ sociolinguistic field techniques which would enable them to participate in the development of a teacher observation instrument. With the instructors' guidance -- Carmen Simich, a sociolinguist, and Robert Carrasco, an ethnographer -- participants developed the TOS.

The workshop included a review of the basic concepts of ethnographic monitoring in classroom settings. Videotapes of interactions between teacher/student(s) and student(s)/student(s) in elementary bilingual classrooms were used to aid in the development of teachers' observation skills. The process was one of guided discovery where, through discussion and brainstorming, teachers were made aware of the wide range of communicative skills students use with different participants in various classroom situations. The videotapes provided a means for detailed discussion of teacher/student(s) interactions vs. student(s)/student(s) interactions which focused on:

- language use, language choice, code-switching and their relationship to communicative proficiency;
- students' linguistic repertoires; and
- sociolinguistic rules of interaction in the classroom.

The discussions resulting from viewing the videotapes were related to the teachers' practical experience as ethnographers and participant observers. After viewing the tapes, the participants and workshop leaders agreed that teachers were the most qualified to make valid emic predictions about their own students' communicative abilities. Outside observers, it was concurred, would not generally be aware of the specific rules of interaction implicitly or explicitly agreed upon by participants in classroom settings.

Early in the workshop, teachers were asked to list students' behaviors that, in their opinion, correlated with English proficiency. The purpose of the activity was to identify participants' understanding of communicative proficiency. Responses from this informal survey, summarized in Table 1, were analyzed, and grouped into four categories of behaviors. These are:

- linguistic behaviors related to grammatical, morphological, and syntactic skills in oral speech, as well as literacy skills;
- ethnographic/sociolinguistic behaviors related to language use considering setting, participants, nonverbal behaviors, goals of interaction, language(s) used by students;
- student background factors related to language of the home, language(s) exposure, years of schooling, etc.; and
- psychological factors related to self-concept and language(s) used in emotional interactions.

Sixty-five percent of the total number of behaviors identified were linguistic, seventeen percent fell within the ethnographic/sociolinguistic category, twelve percent were student background factors and six percent were psychological factors. The most frequently cited linguistic behaviors focused on ability to explain, amount of code-switching during discourse, contribution to discussion and initiating conversation. Word order, command of syntax, and vocabulary as well as the ability to complete writing assignments were cited as major indicators of "good" writing ability. Listening factors selected were "good" receptive ability and understanding verbal cues. Only one reading skill, the ability to read at grade level, was named.

Among the most often listed ethnographic/sociolinguistic behaviors were: the language(s) students use during play situations, the use of nonverbal behaviors, "language fluency," and ability to initiate conversation with different participants in distinct contextual settings. Background information factors cited were: language of the home, number of years of schooling, information in students' cumulative file, and ethnic background. Language use in the home was the one most often mentioned. The psychological factors designated were: students' shyness or self-consciousness, and language(s)

TABLE 1

Teacher Selected Factors Used to Evaluate

Students' Communicative Proficiency

Linguistic Behaviors	Number of Times Selected	Percentage
Speaking		
Code-switching (Using two languages during discourse)	5	
Use of dialect(s)	1	
"Good" Pronunciation	1	
Responding "well" to directions, questions, etc.	1	
Initiating conversation	2	
Contributing to discussion	4	
Ability to explain in a group situation (e.g., "good" productive ability, amount of talk, ability to negociate)	15	
Writing		
Word order, noun and verb agreement, placement of adjective before noun	5	
"Satisfactorily" completing writing assignments in English	2	
Completing tasks independently and accurately, "with 'good' control of syntax and vocabulary"	4	
Building on sentences	2	
Listening		
"Good" receptive ability	5	
Understanding verbal cues	2	
Reading		
Reading on grade level	1	
TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES SELECTED	50	65
Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Behaviors		
Language(s) used with peers during unsupervised play situations	4	
Language(s) used with peers and teacher during supervised situations	1	
Ability to initiate conversation with teacher and peers in classroom in both small and large instructional groups	2	
Use of jingles during unsupervised activities in the playground	1	
Language fluency	2	
Nonverbal behaviors (e.g., "responds by nodding, blank look, head down")	3	4
TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES SELECTED	13	17
Students' Background Factors		
Language(s) spoken at home	5	
Language used most frequently by student at home	1	
Information in students' cumulative file	1	
Number of years of schooling	1	
Ethnic background	1	
TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES SELECTED	9	12
Psychological Factors		
Student is "shy or self conscious"	4	
Language(s) used in emotional interactions	1	
TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES SELECTED	5	6
Total Number of Factors	77	

used during emotional interactions. In short, results from the survey indicated that:

- o teachers' criteria for judging language proficiency is generally based on a consideration of linguistic factors with a particular emphasis on oral language skills;
- o few teachers include nonverbal language in their criteria of communicative performance; and
- o few teachers consider, in their criteria, students' appropriate use of language in terms of contextual and psychological factors affecting communication.

The communicative proficiency model adapted from Briere (1979, see Figure 1) was discussed with teachers, and related to results from the teacher survey. The purpose in utilizing this model was to make participants aware that language use requires speakers/listeners to possess more than the knowledge of the grammar of a language; and that sociolinguistic aspects of language should be taken into account when assessing communicative proficiency. After relating the model to the results of the survey, participants arrived at the conclusion that there was a need to consider the communicative proficiency of their students in terms of both linguistic and sociolinguistic skills.

The review of basic ethnographic concepts, discussion of the results from the teachers' survey of communicative proficiency factors, and a modified sociolinguistic model of communicative proficiency (Briere, 1979) provided the foundation for the inductive process used to develop the TOS.

The major questions raised during its conceptualization and development were:

- o What kinds of functional language skills does the language minority student bring to school?
- o In which language(s), social contexts, and for what purposes does the student communicate best?

- In which language(s) does the student have the widest contextual range of communicative abilities?
- What kinds of communicative skills does the student need to master in order to participate appropriately as a member of the school speech community?

Important in the process of developing the TOS was the selection of contextual settings in which to observe students' communicative interactions, the language(s) of instruction, directness or indirectness of "teacher talk," and classroom organization (teacher-centered vs. student-centered). The language characteristics and linguistic background of the student were also considered consequential for the planning of the TOS. Ethnographic, sociolinguistic and educational variables considered significant were: background of parents, number of siblings at home, age, language use at home and in the community, ethnohistorical and ethnolinguistic information.

The recognition that students have varied repertoires of functional language use in different situations and with different participants, motivated the selection of some components of speech events suggested by Hymes (1972) as the the basis for developing the TOS. Table 2 describes those components used during the initial stage of development. They were: setting, participants, channel of communication, languages used and discourse characteristics.

TABLE 2

COMPONENTS OF INSTRUCTIONAL EVENTS TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEACHER OBSERVATION SYSTEM

Setting	Participants	Channels of Communication	Language(s) Used	Discourse Characteristics
Instructional (formal) vs. Non-instructional (informal) settings	Teacher/Student(s) Student/Student(s)	speaking listening reading writing	English Spanish	coherence complexity adequacy of vocabulary code-switching

Ideally, an ethnographic approach to language proficiency assessment consists of observing a student in the community, home and school contexts. However, because of the impracticability of doing so in all three domains, it was decided to obtain community and home information through student interviews and other available school records, and to only observe students in the school setting.

The advantages and disadvantages of using the categories of setting, participant(s), sociolinguistic behaviors, etc., was a critical issue of discussion in the development of the TOS. After considering the range of speech events that usually occur in a school day, three representative situations and social contexts were chosen. In order to assist observers in the description of students' communicative behavior in the different interactional contexts, basic questions were developed. The questions provide a guide to the observer in describing a student's range of communicative skills. The questions and interactions are described in Table 3.

TABLE 3

TOS

OBSERVATION QUESTIONS IN SOCIAL CONTEXTS

Social Contexts:	Adult Directed Instructional	Peer Group Instructional	Non-instructional	Other
Questions to be answered during observations:	1. What language(s) and/or nonverbal behavior are used by the student to communicate? When the child does not communicate verbally, what evidence do you see that indicates understanding? Describe the behavior observed. 2. When the student does not seem to understand, what does she/he do to clarify the situation? Describe the communicative behavior observed. 3. Does the student follow the implicit and explicit rules of communication of the social context you are observing?			

The field test version of the TOS (Appendix A) has three components:

Section I: Background Information
Section II: Teacher Observation Data Sheet
Section III: Description of Observation Data

Section I consists of a three part questionnaire: student information, optimal student information, and teacher information. The first part includes questions regarding basic information about a student's name, age, sex, birthdate and language usage. The second part contains questions about previous schooling experiences and language(s) used in the home. The third part includes questions about the teacher's language background. Section II includes four social contexts used to describe students' communicative behaviors. Three basic questions guide the observer to focus on specific communicative behavior. Section III consists of two parts. In part one, the teacher summarizes the observed student's communicative behavior. In part two, extralinguistic factors that may affect students' communicative ability (e.g., physical, emotional, and/or social) are described.

A preliminary Usage Manual for use with the TOS was also developed. It consists of four sections:

- Introduction
- Rationale: description of the ethnographic/sociolinguistic theories and methodologies underlying the development of the TOS
- How to use the TOS
- Glossary of terms

The TOS Usage Manual has not been revised since it was originally developed during the second ALPBP teacher training workshop.

The introduction summarizes the purpose of the TOS. The rationale provides the theoretical and methodological approaches which serve as a framework for an interpretation of students' communicative proficiency. The third section describes how to use the TOS. The glossary of terms defines terminology used in the TOS and in the TOS Usage Manual.

Phase III: Toward a Validation of the TOS. It was recognized that before the TOS could be validated and be of practical use to teachers, it was necessary to determine whether:

- the selected TOS interactional contexts sample valid presentations of students' classroom interactions;
- the three questions for each interactional context solicit from the observer an accurate description of the observed students' functional language abilities;
- behaviors described by teachers focus on a description of functional language use;
- it is possible to identify students' functional abilities through observation of selected classroom events; and
- it is possible to develop a representative number of communicative performance indicators based on identification of functional language abilities.

In order to clarify these issues and in preparation for field testing of the TOS, participants were further trained in the use of microethnographic/ sociolinguistic field methods to identify how children use language for functional purposes. The workshop was organized by Charlene Rivera and Carmen Simich. It was expected that participants would gain a better understanding of what students need to know in order to accomplish communicative tasks

during classroom interactions, with the goal of relating this understanding to the observation tasks outlined in the TOS. The workshop was organized as follows:

- a review of basic concepts of language proficiency and language proficiency assessment;
- a review of the anthropological orientation of "doing ethnography" in classroom settings;
- a review of the nature and intent of the TOS; and
- a formal introduction to functional uses of language in the school, home, and community settings and their relationship to the teacher observation tasks outlined in the TOS.

The field testing of the TOS was incorporated into the two-day session. Teachers were paired and assigned to different schools to observe students from kindergarten to ninth grade in chosen instructional events. Each teacher recorded his/her observations individually. The half day observations were to be recorded in terms of functional language used by the observed students and other participants, e.g., teacher, peers, etc. Two teachers were assigned to observe the same student in order to compare observations and increase observer reliability. Following the observations, instructors and participants discussed the problems and rewards of the experience. Based on their insights into the process, small groups reviewed the experience, brainstormed, and discussed possible "indicators" of communicative proficiency. Participants also made recommendations for changes in TOS content and format.

Efforts in the Development and Validation of the TOS. In late May, 1981, a meeting was held between ALPBP project personnel and a representative from Tucson Unified School District. The purpose of the meeting was to develop criteria for analyzing the TOS field test data. The criteria agreed upon was:

- o whether the observer answered the three questions for each of the four social contexts posed in the TOS (see Table 3);
- o whether the observer provided a complete and accurate description of the social contexts observed;
- o whether the observer described a student's behavior in terms of functional language use; and
- o whether the observer's summary of the observation recommendations for student placement were representative of their description of the student's functional language abilities.

Because the TOS was at the field test stage, the ALPBP staff were concerned that TUSD would attempt to identify "indicators" of communicative proficiency based only on the field test. However, after reviewing the field test results, the concensus of the ALPBP staff and the TUSD representative was that, at most, the data could provide a sample list of communicative functions related to language proficiency identified at the time of the field test. Most importantly, it was concurred that the data could not compensate for an ethnographic/sociolinguistic study of natural language use in elementary classrooms to investigate what "ways of speaking" (Hymes, 1972, 1974) or functional uses of language that are available to participants in school settings. Based on identification of reliable and valid indicators, it would then be possible to determine what sociolinguistic skills students need in order to be considered proficient communicators. Once reliable and valid indicators are identified, it would then be possible to formally validate the TOS or any other similar instrument.

Conclusion

In this concluding section, the limitations and significance of the ALPBP teacher training program in Tucson are described. The purpose is to provide evaluative information regarding the ethnographic/sociolinguistic approach to language proficiency assessment.

Limitations of an Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Approach to Language Proficiency Assessment. The limitations of the approach were found to be related to its implementation in actual classroom situations rather than to its conceptual framework (Philips, in press). The most significant determinants of successful implementation in Tucson were found to be:

- the working relationship between teachers and administrators;
- the time required to become familiar with the ethnographic/sociolinguistic orientation to language proficiency assessment;
- the educational background of teachers; and
- the characteristics of the ethnographic/sociolinguistic approach.

The Working Relationship Among TUSD Educators. Cooperation of educators to participate in any training program is highly related to the working relationship between teachers and administrators. In the case of TUSD, some tension was evidenced between teachers and administrators because of inadequate communication between the two. On the one hand, teachers sometimes felt impotent and frustrated because they were not always sufficiently informed about the administrative details which affected them. On the other hand, it was evident that internal school district changes and pressures were reflected in the administrators' relationship with the teachers, and for this reason, administrative details were not always communicated to teachers.

Despite this tension, the gradual involvement and acceptance of the ideas presented during the ALPBP training sessions became a motivating force for both teachers and administrators to cooperate fully.

The Time Factor. Time to assimilate basic theoretical concepts and to become experienced in their application was found to be a problematic aspect in the training of the Tucson teachers. The time alloted for training was negotiated by ALPBP staff with the TUSD liaisons and was limited primarily by district constraints.

Although each of the three phases of the training program was carefully planned, difficulties arose in coordinating sufficient leave time for teachers to attend extended training sessions. Short intermittent sessions were not generally possible because the major consultants were not in the Tucson area. The participating teachers found that the short intense training sessions did not always allow sufficient time to absorb and understand the new theoretical concepts being introduced. One teacher summarized the feeling by indicating that the "time (was) too rushed." She felt "overwhelmed with information." Other teachers suggested that more time should have been given for additional practice and demonstration of observational techniques. Ideally, participants concurred, training sessions should be distributed throughout the school year to allow for clarification of theoretical concepts and their application in the classroom.

Teacher Educational Background. Teachers do not generally have a background in child language development or second language acquisition issues. They are not familiar with communicative patterns of interaction of multicultural/multilingual student populations; nor are they familiar with the rationale

for assessing language proficiency. In Tucson, it was found that teachers highly correlate English language proficiency with knowledge of discrete grammatical/phonological items. The participant survey (Table 1) confirmed that bilingual educators were not consciously aware of how sociocultural variables influence the manner in which morphological, phonological and lexical items are integrated into cohesive discourse. Teachers' concerns regarding the assessment of students' language proficiency were, in general, focused on ease of test administration and interpretation of test results rather than with the nature and scope of children's language and its valid measurement. A general recommendation from the instructors who worked with the teachers was that courses in linguistics, including child language development, second language acquisition, and language proficiency assessment, be integrated into undergraduate programs so that the new generation of teachers is prepared to deal with the complexities of assessing the language proficiency of language minority students.

Characteristics of the Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Approach. The approach requires systematic observation, by a participant observer, of students' language use in naturally occurring communicative situations in different domains: community, home and school. The role of participant observer has two dimensions: that of a detached, objective observer, and that of an active participant. As such, it requires a person to observe and, at the same time, participate in communicative interactions from a detached yet focused perspective.

In attempting to utilize this approach in the TOS it was found that this dual role can, and generally is, problematic because it requires that the teacher concentrate attention on the communicative behaviors of one student while simultaneously maintaining the teacher role providing meaningful learning

activities for all students in the classroom. However, because of the nature of the TOS, which favors observations by participants who already have an "insiders" knowledge of social rules of language use in each individual classroom, it was decided to use this approach.

Significance of the Ethnographic/Sociolinguistic Approach to Training Teachers in Language Proficiency Assessment Issues. Despite the limitations described above, there were several significant outcomes from the ALPBP teacher training approach to language proficiency assessment. The major outcomes were:

- o teachers' awareness of the holistic nature of language;
- o changes in teachers' philosophy of education, as reflected in their self-assessment of classroom organization and management practices; and
- o the development of an ethnographic/sociolinguistic language proficiency instrument, the TOS.

Teachers' Awareness of the Holistic Nature of Language. The holistic orientation to the nature of language and language proficiency assessment is an important aspect of the ethnographic/sociolinguistic approach to language proficiency assessment. Within this non-traditional approach, language proficiency is defined as knowledge of the grammar of a language together with knowledge of the rules of language use. In addition to linguistic variables, sociocultural and sociolinguistic variables, such as setting, participant(s), topic(s) of interaction, language(s) used at home, school and community are acknowledged. This approach is in contrast to the more traditional one where the major criterion for evaluating language proficiency is knowledge of specific grammatical and phonological items without consideration of the rules of interaction and other sociocultural and sociolinguistic variables that affect communication.

The observations of children's communicative interactions and class discussions provided the opportunity for teachers to become more conscious of the influence of sociolinguistic factors in children's language use. Awareness of the holistic nature of language motivated participants to reanalyze their understanding of language use and its role in classroom communication and learning. One teacher summarized, "I gained additional insight into communication as a whole package." Another teacher said, "I now understand communication is not only verbal." One teacher indicated, "(I am now) more observant of the manner in which children communicate...I have learned to focus on the function of communicative behaviors...to not only listen to what is or is not said but to pay more attention to how the message is communicated."

Changes in Philosophy of Education. The understanding and acceptance of the ethnographic/sociolinguistic approach and subsequent changes in philosophy of education were evidenced by comments and discussions between participating teachers and instructors. Through the training, teachers became more conscious of the need to expose children to different situations in order to promote motivation and learning through a variety of communicative interactions with different participants in various social contexts. This understanding influenced some teachers to modify their views regarding classroom organization and management. One teacher indicated, "(I now) organize physically in order to allow for more freedom of interaction." Another teacher stated, "I feel an increased sensitivity to the perceptions children have of their environment, especially of their school environment. I feel more acutely aware of the various levels of activity occurring in the classroom and school."

The Development of the TOS. The development of a non-traditional instrument, the TOS, was another significant outcome of the ALPBP training. The TOS is the first instrument which attempts to relate focused teacher observations of students' functional language use in classroom settings and communicative proficiency. The development of the TOS is important because it has the potential of providing teachers with an instrument which acknowledges the wide range of communicative abilities of language minority students. Although the TOS itself is not yet validated and possibly never will be, it represents an important innovation in language proficiency assessment practice which has far reaching implications for educators servicing language minority students.

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Berkeley Summer Program for Teachers

A course on

Language Proficiency and Minority Students

Report to InterAmerica Research Associates

Jim Cummins

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Lily Wong Fillmore

University of California at Berkeley

Background and Aims

The purpose of this report is to describe and evaluate a five-week course on language proficiency and minority students taught by Jim Cummins and Lily Wong Fillmore with the assistance of Kip Anderson as part of the 1981 Berkeley Summer Program for Teachers. The course was developed within the context of the Language Assessment Project awarded to InterAmerica by the National Institute of Education in October, 1979. In addition to the funding of research in the area of language proficiency assessment, the project sought to develop a teacher training program which would provide educators with an understanding of language assessment issues.

The first phase of the teacher training component was implemented in Tucson, Arizona by means of a course taught by Susan Phillips of the University of Arizona. This course emphasized the potential contributions of ethnographic approaches to language proficiency assessment.

The present course was entitled "Speaking of English: Teaching the Language Minority Student". In developing the course we took the position that the issue of language proficiency assessment could be discussed adequately only within the context of the language minority student's total educational situation. Thus, the first two weeks of the course were directed towards helping students understand the broader theoretical issues involved in the education of language minority students (e.g. the rationale for bilingual education, the nature of language proficiency, how language is learned etc.); the practical implications of the research

findings and theoretical constructs were discussed in the third week, while in the fourth week approaches to language proficiency assessment were integrated into this context. In the fifth week students presented inservice workshops which they had developed on the basis of the course content. The course outline is presented in Appendix 1.

Characteristics of Students

Of the 22 students in the course, 11 taught at the elementary level, 8 at the secondary level, and 3 taught adults. The majority were either ESL or regular classroom teachers; only three were bilingual teachers. The three major categories of reasons for participating in the course were: 1. to learn more about the process of second language (L2) acquisition; 2. to gain more knowledge about appropriate ways of language proficiency assessment; and 3. to find out ways of helping regular teachers cope with ESL students in their classes.

About half the students taught in the Oakland School District and several expressed dissatisfaction with the BSM which is used for assessing limited English proficiency in Oakland. For example, one teacher reported that "in my district many ESL teachers deplore the BSM test as a viable evaluation of language proficiency".

Students' Initial Views on (a) Language Proficiency and (b) Educational Practice and Policy for LEP Students

Students were asked on the first day of class for their understanding of the term "language proficency" and for their views on appropriate educational policy towards LEP students. The purpose of this

was twofold: first to provide the instructors with information on what background and assumptions students were bringing to the course, and second, to provide "pretest" information against which growth in understanding the issues could be assessed. The questionnaire completed by students is presented in Appendix 2.

(a) Language Proficiency

Most students stressed the fact that language proficiency involved the ability to communicate adequately with native speakers of a language. The following example is typical:

> "The individual would be able to communicate clearly (to make himself understood), understand what is communicated to him, read and understand the written language, and go about his everyday life (job) comfortably."

Several students made the point that there are many different levels of language proficiency and that the "adequacy" of an individual's proficiency is not an absolute but must be considered in terms of the linguistic demands of her/his situation and aspirations. One student anticipated some of the points that would be dealt with in the first two weeks of the course by pointing out that:

> "Communicative skill requires learners to know the functions of the language in addition to grammatical knowledge of the language, while reading and writing skills require more explicit knowledge of the language."

(b) Educational Practice and Policy for LEP Students

Not surprisingly, students' responses to this question tended to reflect their own teaching situations. General principles of appropriate

teaching were stressed rather than program methodologies (e.g. ESL vs. Bilingual etc.). Among the principles mentioned were: - the importance of promoting students' motivation to learn English and their confidence in their ability to do so; - reinforcing students' self-esteem and ensuring that program content is culturally appropriate; - diagnosing individual student needs; - involving parents; introducing writing as an integral part of an ESL program. Some students stressed the importance of bilingual programs while others argued for "strictly adhering to the teaching of acquiring skill in English"; however, most students did not consider the issue in "either/or" terms. The following is a good example of this integrative approach:

> "The most important principles around which education for LES/NES students should be developed are the same as those for all children: children will learn when they are provided with experiences and activities at an academic level which guarantee success and in a language which they understand, and when they are provided with a significant other (teacher, parent, other child), who already possesses the skill being "taught", with whom to interact during the experience. This holds true for language as well as reading, writing, mathematics or any skill worth learning."

Course Description

The general format of the course and reading and assignment procedures are described in the course outline (Appendix 1) and will not be repeated here. The assignments were designed not only to help students articulate the issues and relate them to their previous experience but also to provide feedback to the instructors about issues that required more treatment. Assignments were discontinued after the third week both because students were working intensively on their group inservice projects

and also because the instructors were having difficulty in keeping up to-date with the assignments. However, the assignments appear to have been especially valuable during the first two weeks in helping students relate to their own experience the considerable amount of theoretical readings they were required to do. An example of the critical reflection process that the assignment procedure encouraged is given in Appendix 3.

Students' reactions to the heavy theoretical emphasis during the first two weeks was surprisingly positive. As is evident from the course outline, a broad range of complex issues was covered in a short period of time and students were required to carry a considerable reading and assignment load. However, it was clear from the assignments and classroom discussion that a large majority of students saw the theoretical issues as relevant to their practical classroom concerns, with the result that they committed themselves intellectually to grappling with the ideas.

During the first two weeks considerable discussion took place about the merits or otherwise of bilingual education in the United States. This interaction resulted in modification of the views both of those who were unreservedly negative as well as those who were unreservedly positive. The former appeared ready, for the most part, to acknowledge that some forms of bilingual instruction were pedagogically worthwhile in certain circumstances, while the latter gained an appreciation of the real difficulties of implementing viable bilingual programs in some urban situations and the conflicts associated with bilingual education within schools and districts. Jay Kleckner, Principal of a multi-ethnic Oakland school, gave a

guest lecture which contributed substantially to our awareness of these problems.

In the third week the practical classroom implications of the theoretical constructs were considered. Ways of structuring L2 input so that it would be comprehensible to language minority students were examined in light of the processes of language acquisition and academic development identified in the first two weeks of the course. We attempted to show how language assessment should and could be an integral part of any approach to teaching language minority students. The monitoring of students' output by the teacher should serve as feedback whereby s/he can assess the success of past instruction and structure future L2 input in such a way that students can make sense of it.

This theme was continued in the fourth week in which language proficiency assessment was explicitly examined. It did not take long to establish that most commercial tests developed to assess proficiency among LEP students were of limited use to the classroom teacher. Thus, we concentrated on ways in which teachers could become sensitive to manifestations of students' proficiency in the classroom. Susan Phillips' account of the ways in which an ethnographic orientation could contribute to this process was extremely valuable in complementing the more psycholinguistic orientation of the instructors. The taxonomy of classroom oral language (Appendix 4) developed by Lily Wong Fillmore served as a basis for showing how teachers could develop informal assessment procedures for individual students in their classes.

The same orientation was emphasized in our earlier (second and third week) discussions of assessment of written language. The integration of assessment with actual pedagogical procedures (e.g. using cloze as both a teaching and assessment tool, miscue analysis of oral reading etc.) was considered much more useful than contrived test encounters (e.g. standardized tests) for the classroom teacher. Thus, in assessing both written and oral language we stressed using students' naturalistic language output as feedback by means of which teachers could appropriately modify their subsequent instructional input.

In the final week students presented their "inservice packets" to the class. They had worked on these in small groups throughout the previous four weeks and the results showed that there is no shortage of creativity and ingenuity among classroom teachers: During the week we made our own individual language experience books, role-played a sceptical school faculty being inserviced, analysed a videotape of an ESL class, and even made igloos out of parachutes(!), all in the name of language proficiency development and assessment.

Some examples of the procedures teachers produced for language proficiency assessment are shown in Appendix 5. These were intended not as "final products" but rather to provide inservice participants with examples of the kinds of procedures that might be developed.

"Post-test" Views

On the last day of class students were asked to again answer the two questions they answered at the beginning of the course (Appendix 2).

(a) Language Proficiency

Most responses again emphasized the central role of adequate communicative skills in any conceptualization of language proficiency. However, a considerably greater proportion of students incorporated notions of situational appropriacy and communicative needs of speakers and listeners in the criterial dimensions of proficiency. There was a clear shift towards viewing language proficiency in relative rather than absolute terms. For example:

> "...The most central attribute of language proficiency, then, is the needs of the speaker...Anyone who is handicapped in achieving his/her goals by a lack of control over a language is not proficient..."
>
> "We never are "proficient" in a language. We are constantly expanding, refining and improving our usage. Children do this same thing in the early stages of their acquisition."
>
> "'Language proficiency' is acheived when a speaker has reached a level of communicative competence such that comprehension and production fall in the quadrant of being cognitively undemanding even in context-reduced situations (refer to Cummins' graph). A speaker may be fully proficient in one area of language in a given context and yet be inadequate in proficiency in another context."

Several students showed a greater appreciation of the complexities of the construct of language proficency: for example:

> "After all the discussion these past weeks on language proficiency, I find the term even more difficult to define! ..."
>
> "I've come to view language proficiency as kind of a ghost, without any real form or definition. Throughout the course we've discussed so many aspects of proficiency that I find it hard to define it without a specific context, i.e. high school, adult school, survival on the job. My ideal of proficiency is that the L2 student will be able to express more than functional phrases(e.g. "I would like to cash a check", "How do you do this or that?", etc.) but to be able

> to express feelings or discuss abstract or "context-reduced" ideas, using the appropriate idiom or dialect or whatever phrases that are necessary for "competent communication" (another ghost...)"

(b) Educational Practice and Policy for LEP Students

The influence of the interaction among students as well as of the lectures and readings is very evident in responses to this question. There was a major shift towards emphasizing meaningful communication in the classroom and being sensitive to and making instructional use of students' background experience. Several students also mentioned the importance of using "language experience" procedures not just for teaching initial reading but for developing language skills in general. There was a much greater degree of specificity in "post-test" recommendations than in the pretest where the principles tended to be somewhat vague (eg. "encourage self-esteem", "motivate students" etc.).

Among several students who were initially doubtful about the merits of bilingual education there was a shift towards acknowledging the validity of bilingualism as a worthwhile educational goal and the importance of students' L1 in the learning of L2. For example, among the most important principles mentioned by two such students were:

> "Literacy in L1 and L2 (which represents a change for me for I now tend to think that the bilingual programs should be ones of maintenance, recognizing individual differences and parents' wishes)."

> "A strong foundation in the home language, especially in reading and writing, will make it easier for students to transfer skills to the second language learning."

Assessment issues were emphasized by several students in the post-test which contrasts with the absence of such concerns in the pretest. For example:

> "Assessment of language proficiency in L1 and L2 before attempting any kind of L2 acquisition program (this would have to be done by not relying on tests that are already in existence; perhaps by combining a formal test with greater weight placed on teacher observation)."
>
> "Assessment procedures should be established to adequately determine the language acquisition needs of these students."

The following eloquent statement summarizes some of the major principles that should guide program development for language minority students:

> "Education for the minority language child must be implemented with consideration for the following principles:
>
> - A child cannot learn in a language he or she does not understand.
> - Language learning depends upon the learner's active participation in the process.
> - New and difficult concepts can be more effectively learned in the person's strongest language. New language can be more effectively learned upon concepts the person has already mastered. This involves cognitive demand from the concept or the language, but not both.
> - "Redundancy" facilitates language learning: when the meaning is apparent in the context.
> - children who feel good about the stuff (culture, language, experience) they bring to school, will be more easily, happily and successfully engaged in the learning process."

Course Evaluation

On the course evaluation form given to all students in the Berkeley Summer Program for Teachers, students were asked to rate the course and

instructors on four point scales (excellent - poor) and also to say what they liked best and least about the course. Twenty students were present to complete the form and their ratings were as follows:

course evaluation:	excellent	17
	good	3
instructors evaluation:	excellent	19
	good	1

Student comments also showed a high degree of satisfaction with the course. These are presented in Appendix 6. The only recurring reservation was that parts of the course were too theoretical and not practically-oriented enough; on the other hand several students commented on the appropriateness of the theoretical/practical blend. As one student put it "my interest in things cerebral has increased ten-fold".

Concluding Comment

Many of the teachers commented that the opportunity for extended interaction and sharing among themselves was extremely valuable. For us also, as instructors, the interaction with such a committed and intellectually vigorous group of people was one of the highlights of the course. Both of us learned a great deal.

We are aware that we have not provided the participants with any instant solutions to the problems of language proficiency assessment they face. To have even attempted to do so would have been futile, given the present state of the art. What we hope we have succeeded in doing is transmitting an orientation in which language proficiency assessment is

viewed as an integral part of the entire teaching process and in which ESL and bilingual education are seen as two sides of the same coin rather than in opposition to each other.

APPENDIX 1 (p. 13 - 18)

Education 374E

SPEAKING OF ENGLISH:
TEACHING THE LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENT

1981 Summer Session for Teachers
University of California, Berkeley

Instructors: Jim Cummins, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto
Lily Wong Fillmore, University of California, Berkeley

Discussion Leader: Kip Anderson, University of California, Berkeley

Guest Lecturer: Susan U. Phillips, University of Arizona, Tucson (Week 4)

Office Hours: Jim Cummins--Tuesdays, 1:30 to 3:30, Room Tolman Hall

Texts: Lindfors, Judith Wells: CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE AND LEARNING, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980. (Available at the ASUC Bookstore on the "SSFT" shelf in the Textbook Department)

Cohen, Andrew D. DESCRIBING BILINGUAL EDUCATION CLASSROOMS: The Role of the Teacher in Evaluation. Rosslyn VA: The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (Available from Cummins)

Goodman, Kenneth, Yetta Goodman & Barbara Flores: READING IN THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM: Literacy and Biliteracy. Rosslyn, VA: The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. (Available from Jim Cummins)

General Format: Classes will generally commence with small group (10 or so per group) discussion/orientation sessions (for around 30 minutes). These are followed by a lecture on the day's topic by one of the instructors or guest lecturer (ca. 75 minutes) and a break (15 minutes). After the break, there will be a class discussion of the topic (ca. 60 minutes), and group work-sessions during which participants will work on their group projects. The project work will involve designing and producing an in-service package in the following three areas: (1) General approaches to the education of language minority students; (2) Principles and practice of developing language skills; (3) Language proficiency assessment.

Project groups will be formed according to the target grade-level of the inservice package being developed, namely K-3 (2 groups), 4-6, 7-12 & adult. The final week of the course will be devoted to class presentations of these in-service training packages which will be available for participants to copy for use in their own schools and districts.

Readings on each of the daily topics will generally follow the presentation of the topic in class.

Grading for the course will be on an S/U basis only, with grade assignment to be determined by overall participation in the course, completion of assignments, and quality of the final group project work.

WEEK I (June 22-26) BACKGROUND AND APPROACHES: ISSUES IN THE TEACHING AND TESTING OF LANGUAGE SKILLS

Monday (June 22):

A. Topic: Overview of the Course; Notions of Language Proficiency

B. Reading Assignment: Lindfors, Chapter I (An overview of five dimensions of language)

C. Assignment: List (2 copies) what you believe are the most common misconceptions about language proficiency.

Tuesday (June 23):

A. Topic: Cognitive and Academic Aspects of Language Proficiency

B. Readings: Lindfors, Chapter II (Communicative Competence)
Cummins, Jim: "The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students". (Pages 1-21 only)

C. Assignment: Write out questions/criticisms of Cummins' Framework (Use carbon to make 2 copies, please)

Wednesday (June 24):

A. Topic: Social and Pragmatic Aspects of Language Proficiency

B. Readings: Lindfors, Chapter 12 (Communicative competence, teachers and children)

C. Assignment: Do either #1 or #7 of the exercises in Lindfors, pp 341-348, or a language sample analysis of your own choosing.

Thursday (June 25):

A. Topic: Oral Language Proficiency and Reading

B. Readings: Wells & Raban: "Oral Language and the Development of Reading"
Lindfors: RECOMMENDED FOR THOSE WHO HAVE HAD NO PRIOR COURSEWORK IN LINGUISTICS OR IN CHILD LANGUAGE ACQUISITION)
Chapters 2 (Native Speaker Abilities), Chapter 5 (Perspectives on Language Acquisition), and Chapter 6 (Language Acquistion: Developmental Sequence).

C. Assignment: Reflect on first week's content and write out any questions, criticisms, etc. that you might have. Please use a carbon to make 2 copies.

Friday (June 26): Individual work on readings, assignments.

WEEK 2 (June 29-July 3) HOW IS LANGUAGE ACQUIRED?

Monday (June 29):

A. Topic: First Language Acquisition

B. Readings: Lindfors, Chapters 7 (Language acquisition: Active processing in an interactive environment) and 8 (Language acquisition, teachers and children)

(And for those who need the background, Chapters 5 & 6 of Lindfors as well. See Thursday, June 25 readings for details)

Tuesday (June 30):

A. Topic: How Are Second Languages Acquired?

B. Readings: Lindfors, Chapter 15 (Different languages, teachers and children); Tucker & Gray paper (Cummins will have this for you).

C. Assignment: Identify from your own experience and intuitions those aspects of second language acquisition that make it hard for some people to learn languages after the first. (Please make 2 copies of this assignment by using your carbon paper)

Wednesday (July 1):

A. Topic: Issues in Teaching the Language Minority Student

B. Readings: Cummins (same paper assigned for Tuesday, June 23), p. 21 to end..

C. Assignment: Write-out (with carbon duplicate) one theoretical and/or empirical criticism of Cummins' argument.

Thursday (July 2):

A. Topic: Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

B. Readings: Cohen, Describing Bilingual Education Classrooms (see texts)
Fillmore, "Thoughts on the Non-English Speaking Student"
(Fillmore will give you this paper in class)

C. Assignment: Write-out (with carbon duplicate) some principles of language that ought to be taken into account in language teaching and assessment.

Friday (July 3): Individual work on projects and assignments

WEEK 3 (July 3- July 10) METHODS AND APPROACHES TO TEACHING LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

Monday (July 6):

A. Topic: Teaching English to Non-Native Speakers: Explicit Approaches

B. Readings: Lindfors, Chapter 3 (Components of Language Structure)
Terrell, "A Naturalistic Approach to Second Language Teaching"
(Cummins will give you this paper in class)

Tuesday (July 7):

A. Topic: Teaching English through Content Instruction (Indirect Approaches)

B. Readings: Lindfors, Chapter 9 (Language in Learning) & Chapter 10
(Language in Learning, Teachers and Children)
Wilson, "The immersion effect" (Cummins will give this to you)

C. Assignment: Do #7 on page 347 of Lindfors.

Wednesday (July 8):

A. Topic: Text as Input for Language Learning

B. Readings: Goodman, Goodman & Flores (the whole thing); Bell "The Emperor's New Cloze" (Cummins will give you this); Haskell, "Putting Cloze into the Classroom" (Cummins will give you this too)

C. Assignment: Write up one or more technique using text as input for language learners that has worked well for you.

Thursday (July 9):

A. Topic: Idea Pot-luck: Methods and Materials

B. Readings: A paper by Susan Phillips (TBA)

C. Assignment: Please do the exercise in Cohen, pp. 29-34.

Friday (July 10): Individual work on projects and assignments

WEEK 4 (July 13 - July 17) APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENT

Monday, (July 13):

A. Topic: Overview of Assessment Procedures

B. Readings: Section I of NIE Report on Testing and Assessment: "Validity and Reliability". (Cummins will provide)

C. Assignment: TBA

Tuesday, (July 14):

A. Topic: Ethnographic Approaches to Classroom Interaction
(Guest Lecturer: Susan U. Phillips)

B. Reading: TBA

C. Assignment: TBA

Wednesday, (July 15):

A. Topic: Ethnographic Approaches to Language Proficiency Assessment
(Guest Lecturer: Susan U. Phillips)

B. Reading: TBA

C. Assignment: TBA

Thursday, (July 16):

A. Topic: Naturalistic Approaches to Language Proficiency Assessment

B. Readings: Fillmore paperlet on language proficiency assessment

Friday, (July 17): Individual work on projects and assignments

WEEK 5 (July 20 - July 24) APPLICATION & PROJECT PRESENTATIONS

Monday, (July 20):

Topic: Group 1, K-3 Presentation

Tuesday, (July 21):

Topic: Group 2, K-3 Presentation

Wednesday, (July 22):

Topic: Group 3, 4-6 Presentation

Thursday, (July 23):

Topic: Group 4, 7-12 & Adult Presentation

Friday, (July 24):

Topic: Synthesis and Course Evaluation

APPENDIX 2 (p. 19 - 20)

Education 374E

Questionnaire

June 22, 1981

Name_____ Summer phone_____

Home Address (permanent)_____

_____

Present position and/or function_____

_____ School/District:_____

Grade levels you are primarily involved with: K-3___4-6___7-12___College___

Any prior courses related to this one? (e.g., ESL, L2 Acquisition, Linguistics, Bilingual Education, etc.)

none____
1-2_____
3+ _____

Check whether you have fluent (F), intermediate (I) or negligible (N) knowledge of the following languages:

French	F__I__N__	_____	F__I__N__
Spanish	F__I__N__	_____	F__I__N__
German	F__I__N__	_____	F__I__N__

What do you hope to get out of this course?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Have you any research or practical experience in the use of language proficiency tests? If so, which one(s)?

Is there anything you would like us to know about you?

What is your present understanding of the term "language proficiency"? Try to define the term as you understand it, specifying its most central attributes:

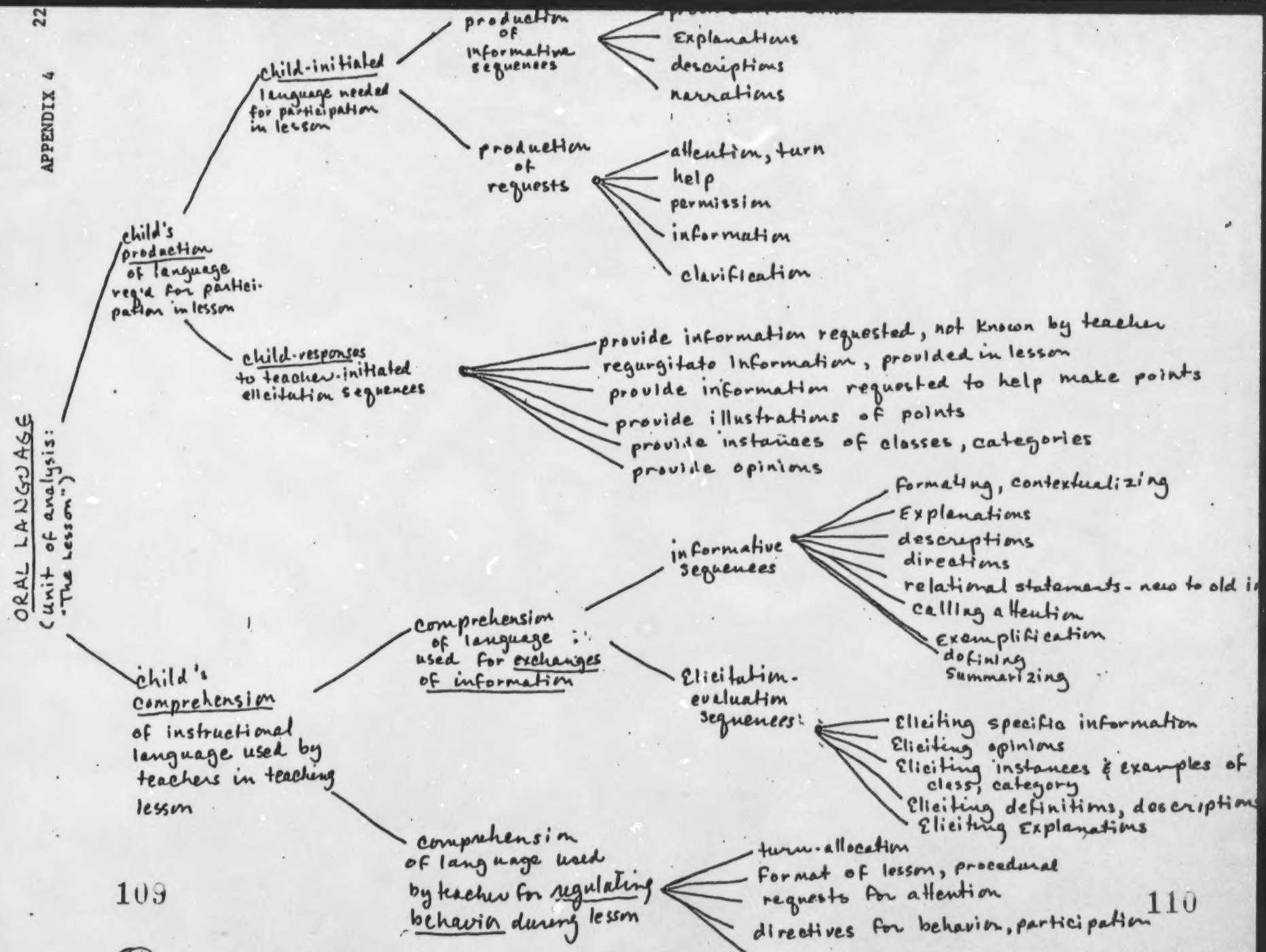
Based on your own experience and/or intuitions, what are the most important principles which you feel ought to guide educational practice and policy for language minority (LES/NES) students?

23 June 1981

Most of what you have stated makes sense to me. In fact, it confirms in my mind that what passes for bilingual education in most areas(and certainly Oakland)is based on faulty theories of how second language acquirers can best achieve English proficiency in all of its forms.

The terms that you use are new to me and well explained, and in many instances are concrete evidence of something I've suspected for a long time. Teachers who are successful in teaching language proficiency to native speakers as well as non-native speakers realize, intuitively perhaps, that linguistic and communicative(in all its forms)competence go hand in hand and all language is inter-related and not strictly compartmentalized.

1. What, if any kinds of exit criteria should be used in a quality bilingual program?
2. Are you maintaining that all second language acquisition students should be in a full bilingual program?
3. What role do you see ESL performing in a bilingual students' role of attaining language proficiency in English?
4. Are there any circumstances you can see an L1 student not being in a bilingual program but entirely in an ESL Program? If so, what are the conditions?
5. What types of testing devices can or should psychologists use in evaluating an L1 child to determine if lack of academic progress is due to lack of English proficiency or a genuine learning disability? Should such students even be tested with such culturally biased tests?
6. How did the districts you noted as having quality bilingual programs get started given the political and monetary hurdles?
7. Would having to serve only one particular bilingual group make the implementation of a quality bilingual program easier?
8. In the quality programs you noted, were the bilingual staff tested for their competency in the primary language and English?
9. Why do you think the notion of "linguistic mis-match" figures so greatly in explaining the lack of academic progress of failure of L1 students in bilingual programs in the U.S? Do you think it has to do with an ethnocentric view or socio-economic factors? Or isit even more complicated than that?


ORAL LANGUAGE
(unit of analysis: "The Lesson")
child's production of language req'd for participation in lesson
child-initiated
language needed for participation in lesson
production of informative sequences
Explanations
descriptions
narrations
production of requests
attention, turn
help
permission
information
clarification
child-responses to teacher-initiated elicitation sequences
provide information requested, not known by teacher
regurgitate information, provided in lesson
provide information requested to help make points
provide illustrations of points
provide instances of classes, categories
provide opinions
child's comprehension of instructional language used by teachers in teaching lesson
comprehension of language used for exchanges of information
informative sequences
formating, contextualizing
Explanations
descriptions
directions
relational statements - new to old i
calling attention
Exemplification
defining
summarizing
Elicitation-evaluation sequences
Eliciting specific information
Eliciting opinions
Eliciting instances & examples of class, category
Eliciting definitions, descriptions
Eliciting Explanations
comprehension of language used by teacher for regulating behavior during lesson
turn-allocation
Format of lesson, procedural
requests for attention
directives for behavior, participation
statements of rules

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Education 374E
Inservice Workshop
Grades 9-12

ASSESSMENT OF THE E.S.L. STUDENT AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL

OUTLINE

I. General Problems of Assessment:

A. Many schools don't even have and ESL program.
B. Regardless of the level, students are "dumped" into content area classes with native speakers.
C. Many come in without any previous testing
D. Those students who do come in with test scores are still not adequately assessed due to the lack of valid tests for ESL students.
   1. Problems of criterion validity and content validity exist. (e.g. The Bilingual Sytax Measure tests for syntax and grammar usage, but is that a valid measure of language proficiency??)
   2. The state of Calif. hasn't approved or recommended any test as valid for the secondary level.

II. Suggestions for Assessment:

A. View assessment of language skills as having a broad base. No one or two variables are going to accurately diagnose language proficiency or predict for academic success. (e.g. correct oral reading --phonetic decoding-- does not indicate language proficsiency.)

B. Get a personal history of the ESL student. It can offer valuable information for your teaching. (See questionaire, Fig. 1)

C. Pay attention to the social skills of your student, both in and out of class. (e.g. does he initiate questions? attempt to use the language? interact with native speakers? ask for help? etc.)

D. Be sensitive to students' culture shock experience(especially for refugees from Central America and Southeast Asia) --it may be harder to assess their real capabilities and language skills at the beginning of your class. View assesment as an ongoing process.

E. Don't expect a student's fluency in oral production/comprehension to match his writing skills. Oral fluency normally com es 3 to 4 years sooner than written language fluency in second language acquisition.

F. Use all possible resources people--counselors, ESL teachers, student peers, county resources (some offer translation services), parents (if translators are available), the students other teachers.

II. Suggestions for Assessment (cont.)

G. Recognize that proficiency in English can encompass proficiency in a wide range of language skills. (see unit analysis by L.W. Fillmore on oral language as an example). Consequently, it's important for you to determine what particular language skills are necessary for participation/success in your class. Your assessment should focus mainly on the skills you choose.

1. Give your students comprehension questions or activities that focus on the particular skills you choose.
2. Keep an informal chart on how often the student demonstrates the skills you decide above. (see the example assessment chart, Fig. 2)

H. Focuse on how well the child can communicate. Other areas such as spelling or grammar should not be over-emphasized at this point over their comprehension skills.

GRADING THE ESL STUDENT: PROBLEMS & SUGGESTIONS

Major question: Do you grade the student by the relative competence of his English skills as compared to the native speakers or do you grade by the amount of effort and/or progress that has been accomplished in learning the second language?????

Problems: 1. Comparing L_2 students to native speakers seems unfair, especially if the L_2 student is bright and has made excellent progress. Moreover, how then can you use grades as a positive reinforcement.

2. However, to maintain school district standards means these students must pass some kind of criteria that demonstrates their ability to function in the next level of difficulty. Passing them may be actually a disservice.

Response: (you're not going to like this...) There's probably no way you'll be completely satisfied with the grade you give to the ESL student. Whatever happens, don't be overcome with the "Guilts". Do, however, make a point to sit down with the student and discuss his grade with him, breaking down his grade in the class in to specific areas so that he can get positive feedback on what hes doing right, and so that you can encourage him to continue his rate of progress.

Figure 1 - Questionaire for ESL Asessment

1. Name: First- Last (Family name)-
2. Address/phone number
3. Class schedule (name of class, teacher, period)
4. Native country- City-
5. Date of arrival
6. What language do you speak at home?
7. What is your father's job? What is your mothers job?
8. How long did you go to school in your native country? What grade did you finish?
9. Did you ever study English? If yes, for how long?
10. Did you live anywhere else in the United States before living in Union City ?
11. How many people speak English in your home? Who are they?
12. Do you have friends that speak English?

The following kinds of information would also be useful to find out but may be inappropriate for a questionaire.

1. Age
2. Whether or not they live with their parents
3. Number of people in their family here in the U.S. (living with them)
4. Whether they like living in the US.
5. Whether they were forced to leave their country (i.e. refugee?)
6. Personal aspirations for higher education or jobs

****

Figure 2 - Example Assessment Chart for Language skills

Subject- Social Sciences: History class
Unit - American Revolution

	No attempts	Attempts	Attempts & succeeds sometimes	Usually succeeds
1. Answers Questions about readings	✓			
		✓		
2. makes inferences		✓		
3. gives opinions				
4. restates major events			✓	
5. understands vocab.		✓		
6. follows written directions		✓		
7. follows oral directiond		✓	✓	
8. Asks for help				✓

Teachers should decide on what [lg.] skills are required for success in their particular classrooms + make out a check-list for rating individual kids

not an elaborate check-list because teachers don't have that width of time

A Partial List of Oral and Written Language Skills

Oral Language Skills(Comprehension and production)

Is the Student able to---

explain?
format situations?
describe?
narrate?
give directions?
integrate new infromation with old information?
give examples?
define?
summarize?
call attention to important details?
designate main points?
give opinions?
ask for more information?
follow directions?
ask for attention/help?
understand rules of behavior in class?
understand procedures of class activities?
ask for clarification?

Written Language Skills

Skills involving good structure:

correct grammar usage
syntax
sentence completeness
appropriate word choice
sentence variety
coherence

Other skills:

organization of ideas
coordination of ideas
subbordination of ideas
uses of synomyms
logic
going from general to specific
legibility
creatiidity
imagination
reading comprehension skills

Child's Name:

Date/Observer Number of children in group:														
Attends to task														
Follows oral directions														
Uses peer assistance for comprehension of directions														
Shows initiative in utilizing available resources														
Offers assistance to peers														
Initiates interaction with peers														
Initiates interaction with adults														

Additional Comments:

Code: almost ne
sometimes
consisten

1. WILL EXPRESS SELF IN WORDS
2. PARTICIPATES ORALLY IN CLASS
3. STORY RE-TELLING

WHAT TO LOOK FOR:
Talking freely with friends, adults
Willing to speak in front of the class or small group
Sequencing in correct order
Where did the story take place, what happened at the beginning, middle, end
Can the child give three details, three sequential events
Can the child add a sentence that makes sense(where you request)
Variety of sentences(active verbs, highly descriptive, relative clauses, etc.)
Provides a(the)title

WRITTEN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

Essentially, you should be looking for the same kind of things listed above, however, you should be willing to not put too much emphasis on correctness in spelling or grammaticality--what you are looking for is evidence of comprehension and if the child demonstrates creativity, imagination, good structure, or any other thing that is indicative of a growing language proficiency, then that should be viewed as a plus, however, if the writing is incomprehensible, then you know where to work needs to begin or where to build on the child's grasp of the language. This is not to say that good structure, grammar, or spelling should not be considered important. It is very important indeed, but can be done at a later time in revision, or in a peer-tutor situation.

IN THE WRITTEN AND ORAL ASSESSMENT, TRY TO AVOID QUESTIONS THAT WOULD REQUIRE A VERY SIMPLE "YES" OR "NO". WE WANT THE CHILDREN TO DEMONSTRATE AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE THEIR COMMAND(OR LACK)OF THE LANGUAGE.

RECOGNITION OF AMBIGUITY is a fun way for children to gain many of the skills in comprehension.

Prepare ten semantic ambiguities(as the Shoe comic strip depicts). Children's joke books and riddle books as well as the daily newspapers offer good sources for ambiguities. Tell the children(small group or individually)that you are going to read some things, and that you want he/she(them)to tell what each one means. Read the item, ask "What do you think that means? Can it mean anything else? The same item can be used to predict an outcome by covering up the ambiguity and asking the child, "What will probably happen now?

APPENDIX 6 (p. 29 - 33)

STUDENT EVALUATION OF THE

1981 SUMMER PROGRAM FOR TEACHERS

1. Number and title of your course: _____

2. How would you evaluate this course? (Check one)

   Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____ Poor _____

3. How would you evaluate your instructor(s)?

   Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____ Poor _____

4. What did you like best about this course? _____

5. What did you like least? _____

6. Other comments: _____

7. What kind of course(s) do you think would interest you or your fellow teachers next summer?

Appendix 6

STUDENT COMMENTS ON THE COURSE

LIKED BEST	LIKED LEAST	OTHER COMMENTS AND NEXT SUMMER COURSE PREFERENCE*
1. I had opinions about ESL and bilingual education but didn't have much idea of what the authorities thought or what the research indicated until I took this course. It definitely deepened my understanding of what I was trying to do as an ESL teacher. I enjoyed the format and the contrast in instructors.		* More help in implementing ideas that I learned.
2. The exchange of ideas, activities and experiences between the members of the class, all of whom share a common interest in this field.	Overly long lectures, dealing with (what I considered to be) abstract theory, that would not be applicable to my daily classroom teaching.	Cummins and Fillmore both impress me with their knowledge of current research, their abilities to communicate, their interactions with the class members, and their enthusiasm for the subject and the class itself.
. Group presentations, sharing of ideas with fellow educators.	Lectures too long sometimes. Would have liked less theory, more practical applications.	* More practically oriented course. * More practice, less theory.
. Basic structure of course. The practical aspects of the grade-level methods of instruction. Some are applicable even at the senior high level.	Some of theory lectures could have been condensed. The Phillips lec- especially could have been condensed to a 3 hour lecture. (?)	I enjoyed the informality of the class, and have gained some very valuable information.
I most enjoyed the exchange of ideas from people in various degrees of teaching ESL. The research and theory of others enlightened me and helped me formulate new ideas of teaching ESL.	I'm afraid too much theory in hour long lectures can cause me to tune out...even if I realize that I need the theory to function intelligently.	* An intensive course on tried and usefui techniques to use in teaching ESL students at the senior high level exclusively.

LIKED BEST	LIKED LEAST	OTHER COMMENTS AND NEXT SUMMER COURSE PREFERENCE
6. Format of presentations, the linking of current theoretical research and suggestions for practical methodology.		I found Susan Phillips lectures on microethnography to be of value in assessing language proficiency.
7. I found out about assessment techniques to use in the classroom. Learned some new techniques for promoting oral and written skills. Realized that there are people in the field who are interested in bilingual education as an educational tool, not as a political device.	Reading the paper by Mr. Cummins--it was too cognitively demanding.	Presentation [illegible] very informative. They gave me an insight into methods and materials used at other levels. * This course is well worth the time. Any teacher who is concerned for their pupils' language progress should consider taking it.
8. The entire course was beneficial to me. I found all the materials and informative presentations excellent. I'm glad I took the course.	There was an extensive amount of informational material presented in so little time. I feel it would have been better if the class was an eight week course.	I was under the impression that student assessment was going to be covered. I assume this was overlooked because it is so difficult to assess a students' potentials. * Adult ESL methods.
9. Totally new insights into second language acquisition. Ideas on evaluation/assessment of LEP students, group projects.		Cummins and Fillmore are a good blend as instructors. They complement each other beautifully. * Anything involving ESL/Bilingual. Would definitely recommend this course for my entire faculty.
10. The detailed and intricate factors of language proficiency, clarification of elements involved in L2 acquisition and the brief miscue analysis.		This course should have more exposures in school districts impacted by language minority students. * Miscue analysis for use with evaluation of language minority students.

LIKED BEST	LIKED LEAST	OTHER COMMENTS AND NEXT SUMMER COURSE PREFERENCE
The opportunity to work with other teachers with similar responsibilities and problems in their work. The presentation of the most recent research data and conclusions relevant to the issues at hand.	It was difficult for me to keep up with the readings and written assignments.	* More of same.
Format was varied, group work was very productive.	Need another break, not used to lectures and sitting.	* Teaching techniques, class management. Bilingual/multi-cultural.
Using other teachers for resource, lectures on L2 acquisition articles passed out in class. Guest lecturer, Jay Kleckner.	Text; if the lecture went over 1¼ hours, the room (it was freezing)	I really enjoyed Lily's lectures and her constant effort to keep the class on a practical focus. I also appreciate her ability to integrate different points of view or methodologies or theories into something useful for the classroom.
ost of the topics discussed in he course are not new to me; owever I like the idea of sharing nformation among my classmates nd finding out what other ESL-ilingual teachers are doing to each the language minority tudents.		* More emphasis on teaching strategies - activities in the class.
e format in that it gave a good erview of the different theories, d the reading.		Course is too short.
		This is the best course I have taken in years.
		* I would like continuation of this course, going more into detail in the theory.